AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1993

75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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VOL. 85, NO. 132

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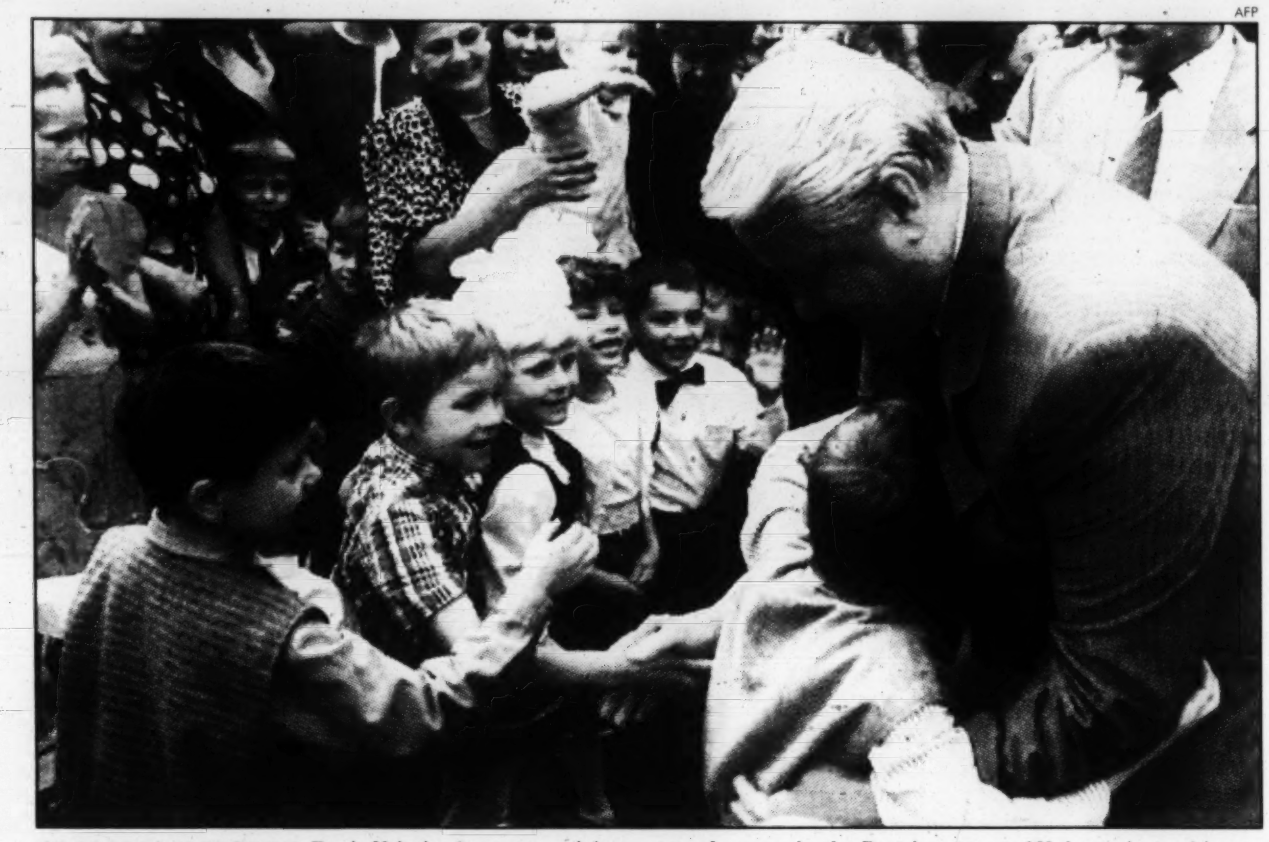

IT'S GOOD TO BE PRESIDENT: *Boris Yeltsin, here on a visit to an orphanage in the Russian town of Kaluga, is working to ensure that a Constitutional Assembly, opening tomorrow, will draft a charter giving him more power.*

Yeltsin's Version of Constitution Places Control Firmly at the Top

Meeting to draft pact will echo Soviet sessions – 'idle chatter' banned

By Daniel Sneider
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

HIS political opponents in retreat, Russian President Boris Yeltsin is poised to try to steamroll his draft of a new constitution through a specially convened assembly that opens tomorrow in the Kremlin.

The meeting has been organized in the spirit of the old-style Communist Party gatherings that Mr. Yeltsin attended throughout his long career as a Communist bureaucrat – the appearance of broad public representation combined with top-down organization.

Yeltsin seems determined not to allow the kind of political resistance and turmoil that has characterized the meetings of the standing parliament and its parent, the Congress of People's Deputies.

"We will not allow political chatter as at the Congress," Yeltsin told reporters during a visit to the Kaluga region on June 1. "There will be a precise and rigid agenda."

In a decree issued the next day, Yeltsin defined a procedure and a structure designed to march the conference toward adoption of the final text of a proposed constitution on June 16. From there, Yeltsin and his advisers offer a number of possible routes to gaining adoption of the constitution, not all of them clearly legal under existing law.

But all may not go according to Yeltsin's plan. The draft faces tough opposition on two key issues – its proposed creation of a hugely powerful presidency, combined with a weak parliament, and its proposed division of powers between the central government and the 88 regions and ethnic republics that make up the giant Russian Federation.

The Yeltsin vision of a presidential republic provides the head of state with not only extensive powers to rule by decree, but also the power to dissolve the parliament. The parliament, which has supported the draft drawn up over the past two years in the Constitutional Commission nominally headed by Yeltsin, proposes more limited powers, though not

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MODERATE SHIFT

Justice Nominee May Be Dropped By White House

Guinier says she will fight for position

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton's reported decision to drop his nominee for the top enforcer of civil rights in the Justice Department comes as a grave disappointment to civil-rights activists and a victory for the conservatives who had the long knives out for her even before she was formally nominated.

The decision to withdraw Lani Guinier, reported yesterday, also is seen as a defeat for "due process" in the court of public opinion. Until the past few days, the image of Ms. Guinier, a legal scholar and civil-rights litigator, had been one of an antidemocratic radical whose support for minority rights led her to advocate alternatives to majority rule in some cases.

Guinier's supporters, including the White House, were slow to counter that image. In short, Guinier has been "Borked." Just as in the case of Judge Robert Bork, the Supreme Court nominee who was blindsided by a liberal opposition that used his own legal writings to characterize him as an extremist, Guinier's paper trail has come back to haunt her.

But the difference now is that Guinier may not have a chance to make her case, as Judge Bork did, before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"Fairness requires that I be given an opportunity to present my views to the Senate," Guinier

See **GUINIER** *page 4*

BUILDING COMMUNITIES

Low-Income Borrowers Find New Credit Sources

By Keith Henderson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LAWRENCE, MASS.

PARK Street in Lawrence, Mass., is lined with run-down triple-decker houses, some of which are blackened and boarded up – grim reminders of last summer's spate of arsons. But Park Street recently got a rare sign of hope.

In late April, Hippolito and Judy Marte reopened their burned-out Pueblo Supermarket, which stocks foods popular with Puerto Rican and Dominican families in Lawrence.

After the fires, the Martes were determined to rebuild. But even with considerable financial know-how (both have business degrees from a nearby college), they faced a difficult time getting a loan. The banks Mrs. Marte initially visited quickly turned thumbs down. Lawrence, a mid-sized city with king-sized economic problems, is not a place to inspire a banker's confidence.

Yet the Martes got their loan – from an unexpected source. Mrs. Marte had at first not even considered Bank of Boston, one of the largest banks in the region. "I thought it wouldn't care about the little guy who wants less than half a million dollars," she says. But when she visited the Lawrence branch, she was soon

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Next Week in the Monitor

- A running battle is being waged at Harvard Law School over demands to add women and minority scholars to a primarily white male faculty. **Monday.**
- A three-part weekly series looks at the world's indigenous peoples, using the struggles of Indians in Ecuador for an on-the-scene case study. **Wednesday.**

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Out of power since the Franco dictatorship, Spain's right-wing party has a chance to oust the Socialists.
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A New Tack For Many University Presses
Besides academic works, they publish more books for the general reader.
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Clinton Leans to Middle For High Court Choice

PRESIDENT Clinton, nearing a decision on his first Supreme Court nominee, is concentrating on moderate jurists as a premier opportunity to prove his centrist credentials, administration officials say.

Several advisers close to the process said an announcement would be made within 10 days.

Three male federal appeals court judges considered to be pragmatic centrists are the most widely cited candidates. They are Gilbert Merritt of Nashville, Stephen Breyer of Boston, and Jon Newman of Hartford, Conn.

But one official said there was "a handful of names on a floating short list," including one woman.

The Wall Street Journal reported in yesterday's editions that Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt also was on the short list. The 1988 presidential candidate appointed Sandra Day O'Connor, now a Supreme Court justice, to the Arizona bench when he was governor of that state.

WASHINGTON WATCH

Other sources, in South Carolina and Washington, said Mr. Clinton's education secretary, former South Carolina Gov. Richard Riley, had told Clinton he was not interested in the post.

Women jurists considered included two state Supreme Court judges, Shirley Abrahamson of Wisconsin and Christine Durham of Utah. One person involved in the search, however, said they were not on the list any longer.

Clinton college cleanup

President Clinton's classmates were posing for a photo, but he was having too much fun with his mower. "Look out!" an alumnus shouted.

Mr. Clinton grinned, then steered the mower away from 30 fellow members of Georgetown University's class of 1968. "I'm not done yet, Charlie. I've got to finish," he called. Wearing slacks, a green shirt, and white baseball cap, Clinton raked, shoveled, and pushed a wheelbarrow. But he seemed to like mowing the most as he repeatedly mowed the same area.

The high-profile, if chaotic, cleanup last week of the Watts Branch Park in Washington was part of Clinton's 25-year college reunion. Tomorrow, the reunion moves to the White House for a party.

"It was all hoped that this would be low key," said Tom Campbell, a US Air pilot from Orange County, Calif. But low key it was not. A metal detector was set up and scores of police officers stood by. Clinton's motorcade snaked around the block while three dozen residents of the neighborhood looked on.

"All over America this year, people my age will be having their 25th-year college reunions," Clinton said. "And I think all the classes ... ought to consider not just having a good time and being with each other, but doing something for the communities where they went to college."

– Compiled by Shelby Siems

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®
An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

Manager: Al M. Carnesciali
Chief Operating Officer/Print: Miles M. Harbur
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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Commission Paritaire No. (France): 3125 USA. Revenue Canada G.S.T. Registration Number 126916436.
SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.
Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.
ADVERTISING: Information 617-450-2652, fax 617-450-2654; production 617-450-2647.
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POSTMASTER/ADDRESS CHANGES: Send to The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA, 50340-1202. Phone 1-800-456-2220. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England. Phone: 081-543-9393.

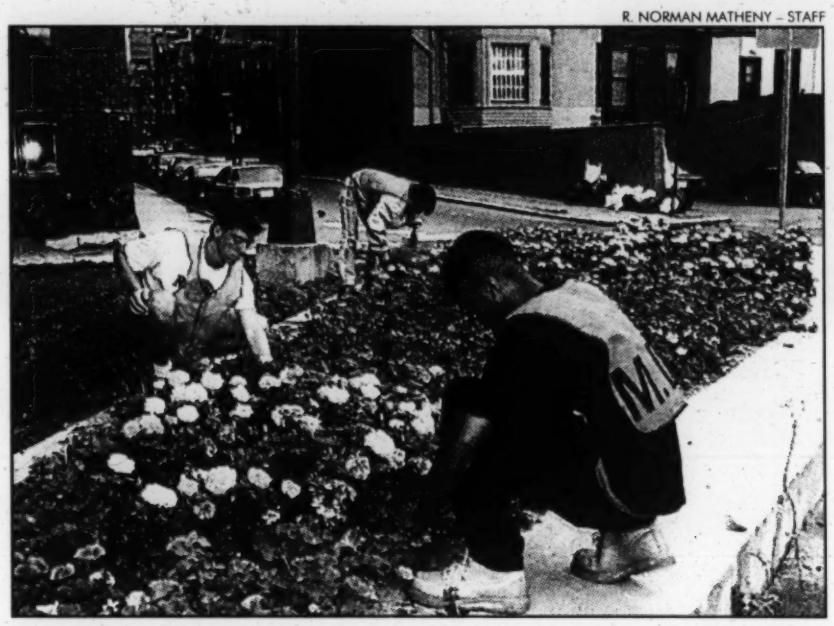
NATIONAL

Training Programs Offer A Better Start for Many

By Amy Kaslow
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



LEARNING FOR EARNING: *Youth Conservation Corps members Michael McGeehan, Quan Nguin, and Peter George work in Boston. Such programs are vital, experts say, to improving youths' job skills.*

TWENTY-ONE-year-old Karisma Kelley says she used to "sleep all day and hang out all night" before she entered New York City's Young Adult Learning Academy (YALA).

Today, the high school dropout is studying for her upcoming general equivalency diploma (GED) and plans to take a college preparatory course over the summer.

Where she lives in Harlem, Ms. Kelley and a young niece under her care "don't go outside," she says. "There's nothing really out there but drugs." At YALA she found a very different environment. "I feel like a whole lot is lifted off of me. There's not as much stress, and that helps me apply myself. This program gave me a second chance ... it's helping me get where I want to be."

For many out-of-work, out-of-school youths in New York City and across the country, government and privately funded programs such as YALA provide basic skills, education, vocational training, and even employment.

Participants range from those in the "at risk" category – the poverty stricken, ex-convicts, former drug addicts, and teenage mothers – to the more fortunate who need help navigating from the classroom to a job.

Experts say such services are needed now more than ever, as the number of high school dropouts soars, approaching 40 percent of students in New York City alone, and college graduates – youths with the best job prospects – swell unemployment rolls.

"Historically, federal programs have recruited those who are easier to place" in jobs because government contractors who run the programs get reimbursed only after their "graduates" find work, says YALA Director Peter Kleinbard.

Each year YALA offers roughly 800 students – 40 percent of whom are unwed mothers and 25 percent of whom served time in prison – reading, writing, and math classes, a theater program, lessons in parenting, and substance-abuse counseling.

Mr. Kleinbard says his greatest frustration is that programs such as YALA are so short – only up to three months of school and two months of job training.

A longer-term program is the $1 billion-a-year federally funded Job Corps program, which opens 40,000 slots annually for youths who can take up to two years to train for jobs in areas from business to health care to waste-water treatment.

Where other short-term programs may fail, says Charles Tetro, president of Development and Training Corporation, the Jobs Corps programs succeed "because they allow people who are making a large transition in their lives time to accomplish it."

Based in Bucksport, Maine, halfway up the state's coastline,

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. Tetro manages two Job Corps centers and runs the broadest array of Department of Labor-funded programs of any organization in the country. One graduate, Liz Richardson, studied welding for a year and a half, graduated two months ago, and now works for $12 an hour as a pipe welder at the Cianbro Construction Company in Maine.

Another, Ronnie Smith, recently received a one-year extension beyond the two-year program to complete a business clerical course. He now works as a Florida service attendant for Amtrak at $10 an hour.

Many in the field assert that the best government-sponsored job-training programs are those that engage the private sector.

Virginia has been in the vanguard of merging business interests with job training and education reforms. "We try to share ideas and bring the business community to tell us what skills students need," says Virginia's Secretary of Education Jim Dyke. A key goal for his department is community development through school-to-work and mentorship programs, accomplished by having business leaders come to the classrooms to teach courses.

"The emphasis has to be on *all* students, instead of the prior focus fixed on those going off to college," Mr. Dyke says. The changing job market "demands higher skills," he says, "not just physical strength and labor."

Even auto mechanics in the local garage have to gear up for new challenges. "It used to be that if you could handle a wrench and a screwdriver, you could fix a car. But with today's computerized auto panels, you need reading skills, math, and science to comprehend the new diagnostic equipment."

Last year, Virginia received a $10 million grant from the National Science Foundation to help the state better prepare students in math and science, and help build what Dyke calls the foundation of job preparedness.

Such targeted spending is crucial says Dyke's colleague, Howard Cullum, who serves as Virginia's secretary of health and human resources. He is combating the effects of corporate downsizing, sluggish job growth, and sharp decreases in military spending, which mean "a compression of opportunity for 18- to 25-year-olds as we move into the '90s," he says.

■ *Part 2 in a series. Next: the national policy debate.*

Document raises new concerns over increase in flow of narcotics from Mexico if free trade pact is passed

NAFTA and the Drug Threat

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has run into another potential obstacle – narcotics smuggling.

There is growing concern that the agreement, which would lower trade barriers between the United States, Mexico, and Canada, would also let down America's guard against illegal drugs.

Mexico already is America's major source of marijuana, and a leading supplier of heroin. Most of the cocaine that reaches the US also passes through Mexico.

The latest controversy erupted when the National Security Archive (NSA), a private research group, obtained a confidential memorandum from the US Embassy in Mexico City. NSA got the document through the Freedom of Information Act.

Written by an American intelligence officer, the memo warns that "well-known drug organizations" in Mexico are setting up business fronts to facilitate illegal drug exports to the US. The fronts, located near the Mexico-US border, include assembly plants, recycling operations, and warehouses, the memo indicates.

Reinforcing the memo's urgency, Mexico's recent upsurge in narco-violence spilled onto the front pages when drug traffickers last week gunned down Roman Catholic Cardinal Juan Jesus Posadas Ocampo at the Guadalajara, Mexico, airport. The killers apparently mistook Cardinal Posadas for a rival dealer.

The two events set off alarm bells in Congress, which will vote on NAFTA later this year. Even supporters of NAFTA expressed concern. "This is a serious problem. It can't be minimized, nor swept under the table," says George Grayson, an expert on Mexico, and author of a new Foreign Policy Association monograph on NAFTA.

Two members of Congress, Rep. Helen Bentley (R) of Maryland and Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D) of Ohio, immediately fired off a bipartisan "Dear Colleague" letter, saying: "Congress should not approve the NAFTA deal unless it and our borders are locked tight from drug runners."

Some independent experts strongly disagree with those views, however. They say the narcotics threat is being overblown.

Peter Reuter, co-director of the RAND Drug Policy Research Center, says: "It is not difficult to smuggle cocaine into this country. Making it a little cheaper [because of NAFTA] isn't going to make a major difference."

Even without free trade, Dr. Reuter notes, Mexico became the major source of illegal drugs in the US at least five years ago.

Colleen Morton, vice president of the Institute of the Americas in San Diego, says closer ties to Mexico might actually help control the illicit drug trade.

"The drug problem has been a very divisive and difficult problem between the US and Mexico, so anything we can do to improve the relationship between the two countries should help," Ms. Morton says.

A State Department official concedes that free trade would probably help drug smugglers, but discounts the threat. The official, who asked not to be identified, explains: "If you look at Europe, where they lowered barriers, there is an increased movement of all kinds, legitimate and not legitimate. With the tremendous benefits of lower trade barriers, there will also be a downside. One of those is, it will be harder for Customs to find the needle in a much larger haystack."

However, the official sees no rush to send more drugs to the US, even if smugglers have the chance. "US demand [for illegal drugs] is going down, and they are getting enough through now.... More drugs could make prices fall."

A US Customs official in Houston says that even before NAFTA passes Congress, "Mexico changed their entire inspection process [along the US border] to show that they were cooperating" against drug smuggling.

Customs also is beefing up its inspection forces prior to NAFTA, which would bring a sharp increase in truck traffic. The Southwest border region, which extends from eastern Texas to western Arizona, will add 100 Customs inspectors by Sept. 30, with more hiring slated for 1994.

In addition, Customs is spending $350 million over a three-year period in the Southwest region to construct state-of-the-art inspection facilities.

Nevertheless, there are serious concerns. Mexico's drug problems remain, despite valiant efforts by some members of the Mexican government, its law enforcement agencies, and the Mexican military. Vicious Colombian-style gang violence has increased alarmingly.

An analysis of Mexico's illicit drug industry released in April by the State Department found little to cheer about. Among its findings:

■ Cocaine. Most comes from Colombia, but up to 70 percent of the US supply transits through Mexico. On the plus side, Mexico has disrupted smugglers' air operations, and forced them to use riskier land and sea routes.

■ Heroin. Mexico has cut opium poppy production to "the lowest level in nearly a decade," State reports. But Mexico, along with Burma, remain the leading US sources.

■ Marijuana. Mexico supplies 87 percent of the world's crop.

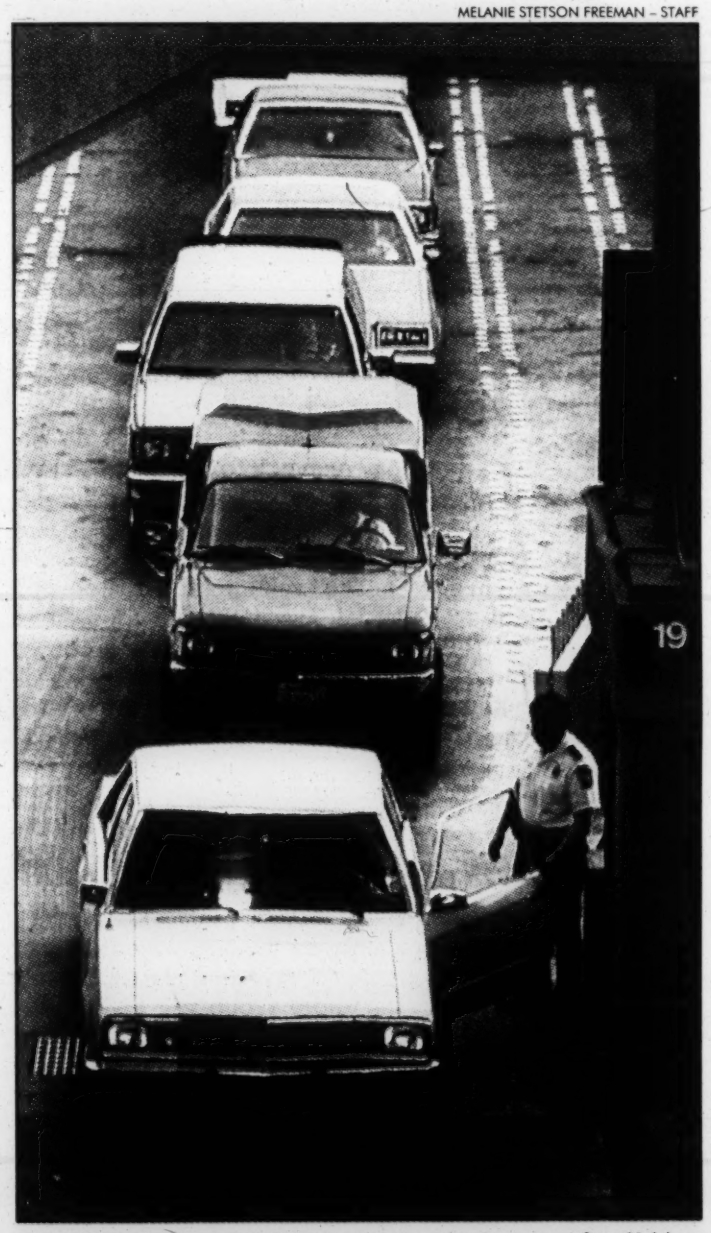
■ Chemicals. Almost the entire supply of chemicals used to produce cocaine in South America comes from Mexico.

■ Corruption. Deep-seated corruption at "many levels" of the Mexican government hampers the drug fight, through President Salinas should get credit for "concerted war on official corruption," State says.

■ Money laundering. Mexico lacks controls on large currency transactions. This facilitates the laundering of profits from illegal drugs.

Dr. Grayson says: "One of the ironies for the Salinas administration is that at the same time it is spending tens of millions of dollars to improve Mexico's image with inside-the-beltway lobbying and public relations, actions over which he has no control have worsened the liklihood that NAFTA will be approved."

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF



US-MEXICAN BORDER: *US Customs agents check cars at San Ysidro crossing, near San Diego. Customs is beefing up inspection forces prior to NAFTA, which will boost border traffic.*

Texas Vote Could Boost GOP in Senate

FROM THE STATES

TEXAS appears to be poised to elect a woman to the United States Senate, a first for the state.

If voters in tomorrow's special runoff election send. Kay Bailey Hutchison to join Phil Gramm, it would be the first time both Lone Star State seats have been filled by Republicans.

Polls show Mrs. Hutchison leading by a double-digit margin over Bob Krueger, a Democrat who was appointed interim senator by Gov. Ann Richards when Lloyd Bentsen became Treasury secretary.

And United We Stand America (UWSA), the Ross Perot political education/advocacy organization, announced its support for Hutchison yesterday based on a postcard survey of the organization's Texas members. Eighty-four percent of respondents picked Hutchison. But only one-third of UWSA's Texas members answered the survey. Hutchison and Mr. Krueger are both UWSA members.

Other Democrats who have held the seat are former President Lyndon Johnson and Texas pioneer Sam Houston. No Republican has occupied it for 118 years.

Hutchison is now the Texas treasurer, the highest state office held by the GOP. Once a University of Texas cheerleader, she got a law degree but could not find a job with the state's conservative, male-dominated law firms.

Instead, she became a television reporter, covering the 1970 race in which Mr. Bentsen beat former President Bush for the Senate seat that Bentsen held until going to the Treasury.

Hutchison switched roles by getting into politics herself, first serving as press secretary for the Republican National Committee, followed by two terms in the Texas Legislature. She bought a candy business, lost a US congressional race in Dallas, then won the state treasurer's job in 1990.

Business and real estate would fare well under Hutchison's anti-tax, anti-regulation, anti-litigation agenda, some say. She promises to co-sponsor legislation requiring regulatory agencies to calculate the economic impact – lost jobs and higher prices – of new regulations.

Her motto on reduction of the federal budget deficit is: "It's the spending, stupid." Hutchison favors enacting all of President Clinton's domestic spending cuts except for defense, preferring instead a Bush administration proposal. She also agrees with Iowa Sen. Charles Grassley's (R) call to freeze discretionary spending for five years.

– Scott Pendleton

CREDIT from page 1

under the wing of a loan officer who "was on my team."

The bank worked out a loan package in collaboration with the federal Small Business Administration, which guaranteed most of the amount, and the Massachusetts Minority Enterprise Investment Corporation.

Bank of Boston's cooperative attitude "led me to believe there's a change in the air," says Mrs. Marte. She's right. The bank's readiness to help the Martes is part of a larger trend toward increased community-development lending that embraces both mainstream banks and other kinds of institutions.

Its boosters include President Clinton, whose aides last month circulated plans for a Community Banking and Credit Fund to feed money into a variety of local financial institutions that serve low-income areas. At $382 million, the fund represents a scaling back of the president's earlier proposal to create 100 new community development banks, but the new plan's embrace of lenders other than banks will probably win it broad support.

The push toward community banking began in the late 1970s. In 1978, Congress passed the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA). Since then, United States commercial banks have been under a mandate to pay more attention to financial needs in their own backyards, typically low-income urban neighborhoods. While bankers have complained about the act's vagueness and other critics have charged that it's loosely enforced, CRA requirements have nudged banks toward greater community involvement. CRA performance is one factor regulators weigh before approving bank mergers or the opening of new branches.

Mr. Clinton's proposal will include CRA rule revisions designed to cut paperwork and encourage more bank lending.

Some large commercial banks have created in-house subsidiaries that specialize in community-development lending, from small business loans to home mortgages designed for low-income families. Bank of Boston, for example, operates the First Community Bank, a "bank within a bank" that has branches in many of Boston's poorer neighborhoods. Gail Snowden, who runs First Community, grew up in Boston's Roxbury section, and she says the bank's strength is her staff's first-hand knowledge of their clients: "We know the community, we know the streets."

Her unit is expected to turn a profit just like other Bank of Boston operations, Ms. Snowden says. She points to a low default rate on First Community loans and profitable branch offices as evidence that the "folklore" about the high risks of doing business in urban areas is wrong.

EXHIBIT A for debunking that folklore is Chicago's South Shore Bank. It has financed renovation of thousands of apartments in low-income districts of that city during the past 20 years and has a record of sound financial management.

"In some communities, actual banks may not work. But we have lots of experience with all kinds of institutions, such as loan funds and credit unions," says Julia Ann Parzen, a researcher with the Joyce Foundation in Chicago who recently co-authored a book on community banking.

She cautions, however, that a major hurdle for commercial banks is the difficulty of making a profit from small loans, which may cost nearly as much to process as large business loans.

Cliff Rosenthal, executive director of the National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions, says his members help meet low-income people's need for modest loans. The federation represents nearly 400 institutions; some have been in business for 50 years. Credit unions devoted to bringing financial services to poor neighborhoods exist in some of the most depressed parts of urban America, including South Central Los Angeles, Crown Heights (Brooklyn), N.Y., and Camden, N.J.

"We see this as a growth industry," Mr. Rosenthal says. He advocates stronger enforcement of the CRA, but doesn't think that law is a solution in itself. "It doesn't prevent the departure of banks [from poor neighborhoods], or meet the demand for small loans to low-income people," he says.

Another loan source in low-income areas is the community-development fund. Unlike banks and credit unions, loan funds are not regulated. They get their money from individuals and institutions who like the idea of "social investment" – often churches or religious orders – and lend primarily to nonprofit agencies involved in housing and small-business development.

Martin Pinsky works with the Ad Hoc Coalition of Community Development Financial Institutions, which is watching the evolution of community-banking policy in Washington. "We'd love to see the federal government get involved," he says, "but if it's not done right, it's a waste of money." Doing it right, in his view, involves strengthening the array of community-development institutions already in operation, as Clinton's plan proposes.

GUINIER from page 1

said on ABC-TV's "Nightline" Wednesday night in a bid to save her nomination.

Ironically, there is some consensus, outside the White House at least, that Guinier should have been given that chance. Both the liberal Washington Post and the conservative Washington Times editorialized this week that a confirmation hearing should be held. Liberals say the Washington Times took this position because a hearing would prolong Mr. Clinton's public distress over a seemingly doomed nomination.

The latter argument would explain just why Clinton is apparently cutting his losses before it becomes an even bigger story.

The president has received indications from key senators both on and off the Judiciary Committee that they have doubts about Guinier. Committee chairman Joseph Biden (D) of Delaware has voiced concerns about some of her published views. So has Sen. John Breaux (D) of Louisiana, who heads the Democratic Leadership Council, a centrist organization that Clinton used to lead – and whose members have muttered that Clinton-as-president has not behaved like a true DLCer.

The apparent dumping of Guinier comes at a time when Clinton is shoring up his moderate credentials on several fronts, most notably with the naming of Republican David Gergen to a senior adviser position in the White House. Clinton, the argument goes, needs to save his chits in the Senate for the crucial battle over his tax-increasing budget, and not expend the energy it would require to save Guinier.

The flip side for Clinton is that he appears to be bailing out – on a friend, no less (Guinier attended Yale law school with Clinton and his wife) – without much of a fight. Unlike his decision to drop attorney general choice Zoë Baird, who had hired an illegal alien as a nanny, Clinton will pay a political price for dropping Guinier.

The apparent dumping of Guinier comes at a time when Clinton is shoring up his moderate credentials on several fronts.

Ms. Baird had no natural constituency rushing to her defense when her nomination ran aground. But Guinier does have her ardent supporters, namely civil-rights, black, and women's groups. Guinier, who is black, spent 7 1/2 years during the 1980s as head of the Voting Rights Project at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"This is a test of whether Clinton has a backbone," says C. Delores Tucker, chairwoman of the National Political Congress of Black Women Inc. If Clinton drops Guinier, Ms. Tucker adds, he will be jeopardizing his support in the black community.

Robert Richie, national director of The Center for Voting and Democracy, calls the conservative spin on Guinier's views a gross distortion. "If Clinton withdraws her nomination, he will be saying he's not willing to fight for the Voting Rights Act," Mr. Richie says.

Guinier has argued that simple-majority rule can be inadequate to ensure minority blacks their fair share in the political process. For example, on a council with a white majority, whites could always carry a vote as a bloc without ever considering the black perspective. In such cases, it might be desirable to institute a requirement for a "super majority," for example, 5 out of 7 votes.

Guinier's opponents, with conservative litigator Clint Bolick at the lead, argue that, as assistant attorney general for civil rights, Guinier would implement that and other alternative voting requirements on a large scale.

The Guinier flap comes on the eve of Clinton's nomination of a Supreme Court justice to replace the retiring Byron White. But ironically, Clinton does not appear headed for a similar battle royal, if he picks one of the names reportedly at the top of his list. They are all political moderates, and conservative groups like the Free Congress Foundation, which monitors judicial nominations, say they do not have any major problems with that list. Clinton, it appears, saw that potential train wreck well in advance, and will not even allow the train to leave the station.

YELTSIN from page 1

less than those of an American or French president.

The powerful presidency disturbs even supporters of the president who warn against creating an institution that could be used at another time to reverse, not promote, democratic and market reforms.

"I don't believe the constitution can be written only on the basis of the assumption that the president of Russia will always be democratic, will always be a champion of human rights," former Premier Yegor Gaidar, the architect of Yeltsin's economic reforms, told reporters this week.

Power to the regions

The draft also has been heavily criticized for giving undue concessions of autonomy and power to the 23 ethnically defined republics that are part of the federation, at the expense of the majority Russian regions. Many worry that republics such as oil-rich Tatarstan will use this as an opportunity to break away from Russia, seeking control over tax, budget, and even monetary policies within their borders.

Finance Minister Boris Fyodorov, while basically supporting the draft, expresses concern that republican autonomy could end up destroying efforts at economic reform and threaten Russian unity.

"I do not believe that there can be states inside Russia with their own central bank which do not pay money into the budget," Fyodorov told a gathering of foreign reporters on June 2. "It could lead to civil war."

The self-appointed Constitutional Assembly is supposed to finalize the text of a proposed constitution after considering almost 2,000 amendments offered from politicians, regional governments, and others. More than half of the 762 delegates represent the republics and territories, with the rest drawn from the central government and the parliament and from parties, public movements, and state and private business.

According to Yeltsin's decree, the entire group will gather only on the first day to hear speeches by Yeltsin and others. They will then divide into five working groups: of federal officials; of regional and republican administrations; of regional and local legislatures; of parties, unions, and other public movements; and of manufacturers and private businessmen.

Each group, with co-chairmen already carefully chosen by Yeltsin, will conduct majority votes on the amendments, referring their results to a working commission that will in turn draw up a final draft to be considered at a concluding plenary session.

Echoing Soviet Communist Party congresses, both the proceedings and the delegates themselves will be largely inaccessible to the media. Russian reporters will be restricted to a separate press area so as not to "hamper the work of commissions," explained Presidential Chief of Staff Sergei Filatov. Foreign news media are being largely excluded on the grounds of lack of space.

Making it legal

Assuming he emerges with an acceptable constitution, Yeltsin's next task will be to find a way to put it into force. One path is the legal one – approval by the Congress of People's Deputies – but that is only likely if Yeltsin is confident he can control that body. The president has outlined three other options: electing a special constituent assembly to adopt a constitution; holding a referendum; or holding elections to a new parliament that would adopt the constitution in October.

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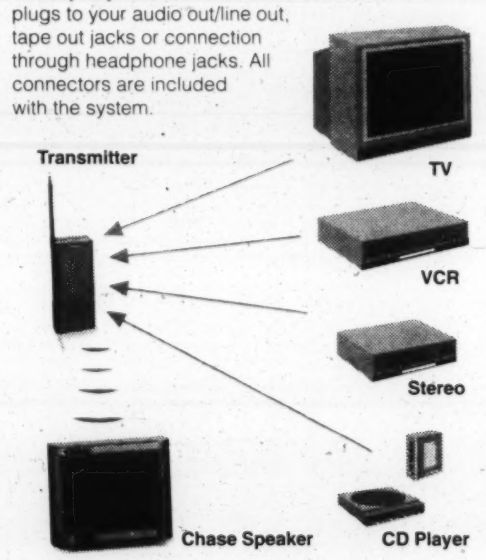

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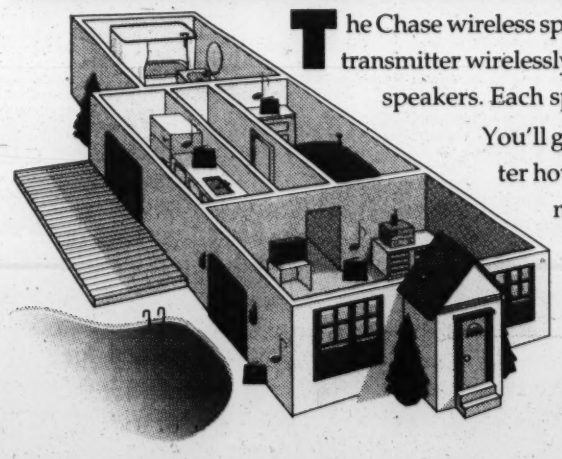

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INTERNATIONAL

Signs That Spain's Socialists Are on the Run

Memories of Franco dictatorship seem to fade as young, urban Spaniards increasingly support conservatives

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MADRID

IN Madrid's historic Puerta del Sol, a four-story-high campaign sign that looks to be the size of a basketball court garishly admonishes all of Spain that *ahora* – now – is time for Partido Popular, the country's conservative opposition party, to take the reins of government.

Spain's ruling Socialists failed in the days running up to Sunday's snap national elections to legally force the sign down, so it continues to stand in the capital's midst as a reminder of the threat that the Partido Popular (PP) poses to 11 years of Socialist Party (PSOE) rule.

Polls this week indicate and most political analysts expect that the Socialists' absolute parliamentary majority will be lost for the first time since 1982, and that a weak victory will force either Socialist leader Felipe González or PP leader José María Aznar to form a minority or coalition government.

Yet simply by virtue of its size, the PP campaign sign is also a reminder of what has already changed in Spain – and how much like the rest of Western Europe Spain has become. That the Spanish may be on the verge of electing their first conservative government less than 20 years after the right-wing dictatorship of Gen. Francisco Franco suggests that old fears may have finally died.

Spain's transition to democratic maturity is almost complete, analysts suggest.

"This election indicates another leap forward, but the end of Spain's transition will be when a conservative government takes power and governs," says Luis Moreno, a political sociologist with the Institute for Advanced Social Studies here.

"A solid democracy means alternatives, and the closeness [in support levels] of PP and PSOE shows Spain's progress," adds political scientist Ramon Cotarelo. But the test, he continues, is "not just having [that alternative], but applying it."

ENRIQUE SHORE/REUTERS

FELIPE GONZÁLEZ: *If the Socialists win Sunday's election, it will be because of the popular premier, not the party, which has been hurt by Spain's economic troubles.*

Critics of right

Recognizing that perhaps a decisive segment of the electorate still feels nervous about voting for the right, Socialist leaders have hammered hard with references to the old Franco regime. Leftist party leader Alfonso Guerra attacks PP posters, like the one in Puerta del Sol, for using "the blue of the old single [dictator] party," while a subtler Mr. González calls Mr. Aznar "intolerant" and a "marionette" who dreams of "centralized" government.

Yet on another level, Sunday's national elections, the sixth since Franco's death, also reveal a Spain increasingly like the rest of Europe, confronting the same problems as most of its European neighbors.

Spain is in deep recession, accentuated in contrast to the economic boom of the 1980s. But also like other Western European countries, Spain is wracked by a debilitating leadership crisis, the result of an entrenched, single-party leadership worn down by long years in power. Another similar factor is a deep crisis in public confidence fanned by mounting revelations of government corruption.

"People feel that somehow the socialist project has broken down," says Mr. Cotarelo.

"The majority of Spaniards is still center-left," adds Mr. Moreno, "but they are tired of 11 years of Socialist government."

Despite Spain's quantum economic progress over the past decade, they would appear to have good reason for their fatigue. Unemployment has shot up this year to more than 20 percent, Spanish industries continue to lose competitiveness despite three devaluations of the peseta in less than a year. "In just four years [before 1990] Spain went from a small surplus to a high deficit country," notes Ignacio Gómez Montejo, general manager for strategy at FG Inversiones Bursatiles, Spain's largest independent stockbroker. "That may not be unique to Spain, but it influences the people's view of Socialist management."

Despite a dim view of the Socialists, though, González remains by far Spain's most popular politician. Recent polls where the Spanish indicated a slight preference for a PP government showed at the same time a desire to retain González as national leader.

González's skills

This is partly a testament to González's skills. He is credited with bringing Spain through a decade of tremendous social and economic change, and is respected for his role in restoring Spain's international stature. But he is also seen as a man shackled by a divided party unwilling to make the difficult budget compromises the country needs.

"If the Socialists manage to win, it will be because of González and despite his party," says Cotarelo.

But the situation also results from Aznar's weaknesses, evident in this week's televised debate, in which the young leader looked indecisive and immature. Aznar turns 40 this year.

González skillfully berated him for giving no specifics, and Aznar's failure to respond indicated an inability to improvise and think on his feet.

On Wednesday, Aznar took time off to fly to Brussels to spend a few hours among Europe's conservative leaders, but it seems unlikely that photo opportunities with German leader Helmut Kohl will convince Spanish voters, especially traditional Socialist voters, who make up much of the undecided.

Test for right

The election will be a test of Aznar's success in finally laying to rest the stigma attached to the right for four decades of dictatorship. Yet it is the young and urban voters – the "new Spain" – who most heavily support the PP despite the Socialists' efforts to paint themselves as the country's progressive force.

Aznar dreams of repeating the French experience, where March elections brought a crushing defeat for the Socialists, a wide parliamentary majority for the right, and a conservative prime minister with broad support.

But this is one area in which Spain is unlikely to follow a European neighbor. If no party wins the 160 or so seats (out of 350) to make even a minority government feasible, then the search for a governing coalition – something new for Spain – will begin.

In that case, the country's powerful regional parties could find themselves in a new spoiler role. The Socialists might also consider some kind of parliamentary agreement with the United Left, led by Spain's Communist Party. Some observers even suggest a short-term "grand coalition" between the Socialists and PP.

Another scenario, one business leaders especially hope does not materialize, suggests a period of instability if a splintered parliament delays naming a new president and government beyond early July. A deadlocked parliament, though unlikely, could force King Juan Carlos to call new elections in the fall.

With no single party expected to win a clear mandate, Spain appears headed for a rough road – and another test for the country's "democratic maturity."

Regional Parties Plan to Capitalize on *Gran Oportunidad*

MADRID

WHEN a prominent congressional candidate for the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) was asked on a recent radio news program whether his party was closer to Spain's Socialists or conservatives, his coy response was that he and his party "agree with Mr. Felipe Aznar."

The answer is an amalgam of the names of Spain's rival party leaders – Spain's Socialist President Felipe González and José María Aznar, head of the conservative Partido Popular (PP). It's also a foretaste of the tack Spain's powerful regional parties are likely to take if, as expected, a weak front finisher in Sunday's election is forced to look for coalition backing to elect a new president and name a government.

During a visit to Madrid Wednesday, Catalan regional president Jordi Pujol said roughly the same thing as his Basque colleague, only rather less nicely: "A part of [us] rejects strongly a pact with PP, but another [part] also rejects a pact with the [Socialists]."

If the political bargaining starts on Monday as expected, the Basques and the Catalans are going to play hard to get – and the price of engagement could be high.

"The Basques," whose aging industrial region is hurting, "might make budgetary demands," says one Spanish diplomat, "while the Catalans' will be more political."

While neither PNV nor the Catalan party, CiU, is revealing strategy yet, it is widely assumed that Mr. Pujol would insist on the same fiscal co-responsibility for his region that the Basque country already enjoys. And both parties would require the PP to adopt a policy more favorable to the devolution of power to the regions before they would join it.

Both the PNV and CiU are right of center. But contrary to political ideology, both parties would find it easier to work with the Socialists, analysts here say. Regionalists are more comfortable with the Socialists' easier acceptance of regional power, and wary of the right's traditional support for strong centralized government.

Evidence of this is seen in the Basque country, where the regional government is already a PNV-Socialist coalition.

Some observers anticipate that the regionalists' demands might end up being too high for either the conservatives or the Socialists, which could ultimately leave them out in the cold. But the regionalists are unlikely to let what the Catalans are calling "La Gran Oportunitad" slip by.

"Both the Basques and the Catalans are bargainers," says political scientist Ramon Cotarelo. "They're pragmatic enough to pull out of the situation what they can."

– H. L.

Bolivia Winds Up Presidential Campaign

Once South America's most unstable country, it now celebrates 11 years of democracy

By Alexandra Marks
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA

THE streets of La Paz are crowded with cars, their occupants waving banners, blowing horns, and scattering leaflets calling for an end to corruption and a vote for "Goni," Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, one of Bolivia's presidential candidates.

Supporters of his chief rival, Gen. Hugo Banzer Saurez, stand along the sidewalks whistling, waving their fists in defiance, and shouting "Banzer, Banzer."

Such political displays are commonplace during this campaign in what has historically been South America's poorest and most unstable country. On June 6th, Bolivia will celebrate 11 years of democracy. Voters will elect a new president from 14 candidates campaigning mainly on economic and anticorruption issues.

"These will be the most open, honest, and transparent elections Bolivia has ever had," says Charles Bowers, United States Ambassador to Bolivia. "They've had chaos and massive human rights abuses. They don't want that anymore."

Bolivia's Constitution requires a candidate to garner more than 50 percent of the vote. None of the 14 candidates is expected to reach that mark, however, which means that Congress will probably have to decide who becomes president.

In 1989, Mr. Sánchez de Lozada won the popular vote, but was deprived of the presidency when no candidate received the required 50 percent, and the contest was decided by Congress. General Banzer, who came in second, agreed to support the left-leaning Jaime Paz Zamora, even though he came in third.

Sánchez de Lozada is a wealthy mining executive. His running mate is Victor Hugo Cardenas, a leader in the indigenous culture movement.

General Banzer is a former dictator who has joined forces with Oscar Zamora, a former Marxist guerrilla.

"It's significant because it shows how democracy has been consolidated," says Peter McFarren, a Bolivian publisher and journalist. "You have an ex-dictator who is now an avowed democrat, who is now running with a former guerrilla he persecuted. That is quite an event."

A third popular contender is Max Fernández, who in 10 years rose from truck driver to owner of Bolivia's largest beer brewery. His campaign has had to fend off allegations of ties to drug traffickers, in part because of Mr. Fernández's rapid accumulation of wealth.

To varying degrees, the candidates support the current economic policies that were put in place in 1985, when Bolivia's economy collapsed under raging inflation that peaked at 24,000 percent.

Almost 30,000 public employees were fired, the tax code was reformed, and foreign investment rules were liberalized. It was the first fiscal austerity program in Latin America, and it has kept inflation under 20 percent since 1987.

In 1992, Bolivia's gross domestic product grew at a rate of 3.4 percent, while the population of 6.3 million increased at 2.2 percent. Some analysts contend the stability has improved the quality of life, because inflation no longer eats away at their incomes.

But others charge the tough austerity program has stripped health and education systems and created a subculture of the "semi-employed." Thousands of peasants pack the streets, some selling oranges and apples, most hawking foreign perfume, electronic gadgets, and watches. Some of the wares are counterfeit, and none bear official stamps showing an import tax has been paid.

In Bolivia's countryside, subsistence farming remains the predominant way of life. Most farmers in the high plateau herd sheep or llamas and grow only enough to feed themselves.

DAVID MERCADO/REUTERS

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL: *Felix Cardenas, an indigenous activist and one of 14 presidential candidates, walked over 1,700 miles in the Bolivian countryside during the campaign.*

A recent study by the International Fund for Agricultural Development found that 97 percent of the rural population lives below the poverty level.

"There's just too much corruption," says Alceada Alvear, a government employee who was standing in line waiting to buy her ration of kerosene. "This is a country rich in resources. It makes no sense that there's no kerosene."

Weeding out corruption is the other main issue in this campaign, as it was in 1989, when current President Zamora took office (Bolivia's Constitution prevents a candidate from running for successive terms).

His administration has been praised for codifying the many economic reforms that were enacted between 1985 and 1987 by presidential decrees. But it has also been criticized for failing to move ahead with reforms of its own.

Corruption reportedly remains rampant in the public sector. The reform of the judicial system has been criticized as inadequate, and few publicly owned companies have been privatized as originally proposed.

The two major candidates stop short of calling for the privatization of Bolivia's major state-owned enterprises, but they do propose to open them to foreign investment. Sánchez de Lozada, who was one of the architects of the 1985 economic reforms, would allow foreigners to buy up to 49 percent of Bolivian mineral, oil, and telecommunications companies. Banzer is proposing the "capitalization" of public firms, which would allow for a less well-defined type of investment. Fernández would sell only unproductive companies.

Analysts say Bolivia's inadequate infrastructure, rough terrain, and poor educational system are also barriers to investment. But with a renewed political will on the executive level, many believe the country's considerable reserves of minerals, hydrocarbons, and natural gas can be tapped. They already make up 65 percent of the country's $927 million in exports.

As South America's poorest nation and the world's second largest producer of coca, Bolivia has attracted high levels of foreign interest.

Roughly 10 percent of the country's gross domestic product comes from foreign aid, a combination of direct financial assistance, antinarcotic aid, and development projects.

The aid has created both resentment of foreign interference and a high level of economic and environmental awareness.

Regardless of who wins the June 6 elections, Sánchez de Lozada is calling on the lawmakers to respect the will of the people and elect whomever garners the most votes in the popular election.

Britons Look East, Not to US, For Future Ties

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

BY a margin of four to one, the British believe Europe has supplanted the United States as the most important international influence on the United Kingdom, a new voter survey indicates.

This is a reversal of attitudes of the past two decades, when most Britons believed the US, not Europe, was much more likely to have an impact on their country's policies.

Despite tension between John Major's government and the Clinton administration over the Bosnian crisis, a poll by the MORI organization of nearly 2,000 Britons revealed that there is little hostility toward the US – only an attitude of "distance and indifference."

The poll's results coincide with what British government officials and London-based foreign policy analysts see as a bumpy time in relations between Europe and the US.

A government official in London speaks of "problems" with the Clinton administration "arising from our conflicting perceptions of what is the best policy for Bosnia." The US has not "followed through" in its attempt to give leadership to its allies in response to Serb advances in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the official says.

Gary McDowell, director of the Institute of United States Studies at London University, thinks that in the light of the MORI findings there is a need to nurture US-British ties.

"At the outset of the Clinton administration, the signal went out from Washington that the relationship was not as important as it used to be," Dr. McDowell says. "Thankfully there are signs – notably the appointment of David Gergen as the White House communications director – that the president is rethinking administration attitudes."

The markedly pro-European temper of most Britons is welcome to the British government, since the domestic debate over Britain's ratification of the Maastricht Treaty on European integration is nearing its climax. A senior Conservative Party parliamentarian says the survey results will "support John Major in his contention that most people want Britain to be at the heart of Europe."

Robert Worcester, chairman of MORI, said that in 1969, 34 percent of Britons believed relations with the US were more important to their country than relations with Europe, which gained a 21 percent rating. The new poll shows that 57 percent prefer the relationship with Europe, 18 percent support the British Commonwealth, and only 15 percent say ties with the US are most important.

Apple Computer Launches 'Mac Attack' On Russian Market

By Justin Burke
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

IN a nation where the abacus is still widely used to add and subtract, an American high-tech giant is trying to introduce the personal computer into the equation.

Apple Computer Inc. launched a publicity blitz in late May, signaling the company's bid to capture the fledgling Russian market with its "user-friendly" products, particularly the Macintosh model.

"Russia is undergoing fundamental changes and is making critical choices about technology," Brian Keating, general manager of Apple's Russian marketing operations, told journalists. "It took 10 years for Apple to become the best-seller in the Western world. We hope to do that here [in Russia] in half that time."

Personal computers are still rare in Russia. Communist authorities in the former Soviet Union did not encourage development of a domestic PC industry, fearing that the new technology would threaten their monopoly on information.

The Russian market also was closed to American computermakers until 1991, when the United States Congress lifted cold war-era trade restrictions on many high-tech products. Since then, competition among American companies has been low key, due in part to Russia's economic crisis.

But Apple officials say now is the time to try to break away from the pack. It already has established a distributor network in about 20 cities and is using Russian specialists to develop software for local use.

Apple's relatively low-cost computers could have several important applications in economically depressed Russia – especially in education and job retraining – which would help hasten recovery, company officials say.

"We are well positioned. The key is getting [information] out on what the Mac [Macintosh] can do," says Nancy Joyce, head of Apple's education division in Russia.

The cornerstone of the computermaker's advertising campaign is a TV commercial, known as "1984 Redux," based on the George Orwell novel. The abstract, 60-second spot, introducing the Macintosh computer line, was aired once in the US. It was shown on all major Russian television channels throughout the day on May 27.

But feedback on the commercial indicates that Apple may need to alter the way it reaches out to people here. Several Russians who saw the spot said they did not understand it. Advertising here perhaps is not ready for the soft-sell approach, in which the product itself is not featured in a commercial.

Apple officials admit that, at a time when many Russians are struggling to afford basic food items, it is too early to talk about putting a personal computer in every home.

"We're not trying to go out into the countryside and tell people 'buy a Quadra,' " says Marketing Services Manager Betsy Heafitz, referring to Apple's top-of-the-line model. But at the same time, there is demand for computers in government agencies and newspaper publishing.

"It could revolutionize Russia. It's all up to the Russians," Ms. Joyce says of the computerization process. "As the revolution begins, we're here to help."

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ECONOMY

US Prepares for New Age Of Consumer Electronics

Companies change focus from business customer to mass market

By Laurent Belsie
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PITTSBURGH

IS it time the United States got back into consumer electronics?

Consumer electronics? What about the Asian juggernaut that conquered the US market a decade ago?

Despite that, several American technology authorities say, "Yes."

For example, Gordon Bell, a longtime research director at Digital Equipment Corporation and now an author and consultant, says, "It's a good point to get back in. The world is going digital."

"In my opinion, there's a very good chance that the US could be a dominant player in the new age of consumer electronics," says George Fisher, chairman of Motorola Inc.

The reason for the newfound optimism? Computer and communications technology – traditional American strengths – are transforming the consumer electronics industry. This week's Consumer Electronics Show in Chicago is a case in point.

"What you found 10 years ago [at the show] was ... audio and video equipment," says Cynthia Upson, a spokeswoman for the Electronic Industries Association. Today, computer companies, telecommunications giants, and software houses are sporting their wares at the annual event.

"There are a lot of mature markets that I'm not sure an American company would take a look at," she says. "But there are growth areas that do represent great opportunities for American companies."

Apple Computer Inc., for example, is formally introducing its new personal communicator, the Newton, during the Consumer Electronics Show. Hewlett-Packard Company is showing its new OmniBook 300.

Personal communicators – a blend of portable computing and wireless telecommunications – are a natural market opportunity that US companies can exploit, analysts agree. But to be successful, computer and telecommunications companies will have to make the transition from business customers to consumers.

"It's a big change from being a high-tech business-oriented company to one that is selling like Sharp does," says Paris Burstyn, vice president of telecommunications research at Business Research Group in Newton, Mass. Japanese competitors like Sharp Electronics excel at selling high-volume, low-margin gadgets.

Several American companies are optimistic they can make the change. "The mass market? Absolutely," says Chuck Berman, product line manager for Eo Inc., a Mountain View, Calif., start-up that is creating its own personal communicator. Prices will drop and consumers will latch onto the technology. "I see that happening in the next three to five years," Mr. Berman adds.

Motorola is trying to make a similar transition with its pagers. The Schaumburg, Ill., manufacturer introduced the Bravo Express pager a few years ago. On April 26, it launched a multimillion-dollar advertising campaign to point out that consumers can use pagers. The idea seems to be catching on. Telocator Magazine has dubbed 1993 "The Year of Consumer Paging."

Even if they pioneer the new consumer electronics, American companies will not necessarily be able to hold onto it. The last time the US industry faced foreign competitors, it lost.

Between 1975 and 1985, the imports' share zoomed from one-third of the US consumer electronics market to two-thirds. Longtime US companies folded or sold their consumer electronics divisions.

"When we lost the consumer electronics industry, we lost a lot of the electrical engineering talent," says Ed Sack, chief executive officer of Zilog Inc., a small computer chip maker in Campbell, Calif. "We can process all of the digital information.... [But] when it comes to squirting it out of an antenna, our engineering strengths in this country are weak."

This time around, though, the US companies appear more focused and ready to compete.

"A lot of electronics manufacturers in the US have gone for the easy money, which is the defense market," says John Farrell, economist with Cahners Economics, a forecasting division of the Massachusetts publishing company. "We neglected some of the consumer markets.... [Now] the end of the cold war is here and we know that the new front of the war is on the economic front. Consumer spending is going to be the real power."

US companies are girding for that new reality.

PETER MAIN

WINDOW SHOPPING: *A New York City store displays a dizzying array of consumer electronics products. The US plans to become a dominant player in the high-volume, low-margin gadget market, but competition is fierce.*

New chain of electronics and appliance stores tries to create a multisensory shopping experience to beat competitors

Tandy Emphasizes Retail, Finding Manufacturing Too Competitive

By Scott Pendleton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ARLINGTON, TEXAS

INTERVIEW

'We have to have something compelling. You've got to drive past three or four competitors to get to our store.'
– John Roach

NEVER mind the 181 different models of refrigerator or the 315 kinds of television. "The main thing we try to sell is fun," says Bill Nieman, manager of Incredible Universe, Tandy Corporation's new chain of electronics and appliance stores.

A giant video screen controlled from a multimedia DJ booth hangs above the stage, where Toshiba will demonstrate new products one day, customers will get two-step lessons the next, and a local high school band will perform the next.

Kids are encouraged to try out video games before they buy. (Hardcore game addicts will be switched off remotely.) Sound booths and theater rooms demonstrate the latest in home entertainment systems. A daycare center diverts toddlers, and a pizza restaurant refreshes shoppers.

All the goings-on are referred to as "the show." Sales clerks are "cast members" who wear "costumes," not uniforms.

Those manning the karaoki booth even sing and engage customers – "guests" – in karaoki contests.

"Shopping should be fun," Tandy Chairman John Roach says. "People will tire of going to warehouse clubs and places that just stack stuff up. Shopping malls historically have provided a positive social atmosphere. Some of that has dissipated with the shift toward big-box retailers."

"We have to have something compelling," he adds. "You've got to drive past three or four competitors to get to our store."

THE results have been encouraging thus far. Nieman notes that the Arlington store sold more Philips interactive compact disk units during Christmas than any single chain of stores.

The Arlington store, which opened in October, and a second store in Oregon need $40 million in sales to break even but are on track for $60 million. Other high-volume, well-known consumer electronic stores might do $15 million, Roach says.

That is welcome news for Ft. Worth-based Tandy, which is renewing its focus on retailing. Last week it shed its computer manufacturing operations, selling them to AST Research Inc. of Irvine, Calif. That will remove it from an industry price war, plus satisfy concerns from suppliers who also regarded Tandy as a competitor, Roach says.

What is more, Tandy's stock has followed the trend set by makers of personal computers – and that trend has been to "way underperform" the Standard & Poor 500 over the past five years, Roach says. Redeploying the company's assets should restore growth.

Roach says Tandy will also sell Sullivan, a maker of ready-to-assemble furniture; Memtek, which makes Memorex audio and video tape; and Lika, which produces printed circuit boards.

Only 20 percent of Tandy's manufacturing will remain, and that will be dedicated to providing products for Radio Shack, Tandy's chain of consumer electronics convenience stores.

Besides Radio Shack and Incredible Universe, Tandy operates Computer City, McDuff Electronics, VideoConcepts, and The Edge in Electronics. New retailing formats include Radio Shack Express, Computer City Express, Famous Brand Electronics, and Energy Express Plus.

"Nobody's going to do all the business," Roach says. The various formats aim at different niches, he says.

Computer City, which opened in 1991, will likely exceed $1 billion in sales in 1994, giving it one of the most rapid growth rates in retailing history. Radio Shack does $3 billion in sales, but Computer City could eventually be bigger and Incredible Universe bigger still, Roach says. Incredible Universe executives are planning to open two more stores this year, five next year, and seven in 1995.

BESIDES entertainment, Incredible Universe emphasizes selection and price. "We do the shopping for you," Mr. Nieman says.

The store carries the entire lines of its suppliers. Managers read the newspapers every day in order to reset their prices below those of their competitors. The staff also goes window-shopping daily to discover and beat unadvertised in-store promotions at other stores.

Mr. Roach says that the store does not guarantee the lowest price because doing so might have the opposite effect and "in some way imply" that Incredible Universe's prices are not the lowest.

Nieman adds that Incredible Universe is committed to "100 percent guest satisfaction." He will lower his price to beat a competitors', not only on identical merchandise but even when his is a different brand with more features.

There's no need to lug around purchases. Customers merely show a bar code they receive on their first visit. The staff enter orders on electronic note pads, which radio the order to the warehouse. There the merchandise is promptly readied for customer pickup.

Nieman notes that two years of customer focus groups went into developing the concept for Incredible Universe. "This is the first time Tandy took the blinders off and did exactly what the customers said to do," he says.

Watch Your Statistics Or Face Lempert

LEONARD LEMPERT is an agreeable fellow – until it comes to journalistic mistakes in economic statistics.

When those are made, as he acknowledges, he has become "more and more cantankerous."

Mr. Lempert has the background to criticize. He started publishing a newsletter on the latest economic statistics in 1954 from his home in North Egremont, Mass., a town of about 1,200 people. In those days, many statistics on the economy were not "seasonally adjusted"; they did not take account of seasonal trends, such as the upswing in retail sales before Christmas and the slump in construction during the winter. Lempert pioneered seasonally adjusting the numbers and delighted even then in taking verbal pokes at the foibles of the financial press.

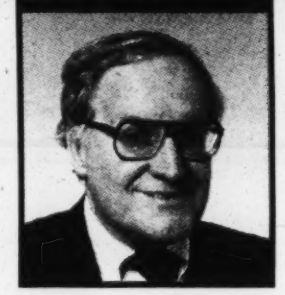
His work was used by economists Geoffrey Moore with the National Bureau of Economic Research and Julius Shiskin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics when they were working more than three decades ago on the modern versions of the leading indicators, coincident indicators, and lagging indicators.

When the Commerce Department published the leading indicators for April on Wednesday, the miniscule rise of 0.1 percent in this chief forecasting gauge of the government was no surprise to Lempert. He has been writing about the "lackadaisical" pace of the recovery in his weekly newsletter for some time.

In his May 26 letter, after reviewing the various leading indicators (such as common stock prices, length of the work week, vendor delivery performance, plant and equipment contracts, and unfilled orders), Lempert concludes that despite the sluggishness, "the thrust of economic activity is still up."

Lempert has a nothing-but-the-facts attitude. He does not offer economic policy prescriptions. But he loves taking shots at widespread economic assumptions that the statistics indicate are incorrect. In a May assessment of the economy he notes:

DAVID R. FRANCIS



"Political rhetoric had convinced the public the 1980s were good economic years. The fact is the 1980s and early 1990s lacked the growth of earlier years." Lempert provides some charts showing the clear slowdown in growth in the past decade. He says the Reagan era "claims of economic rescue from the pre-1980 catastrophe of high interest rates, unbridled inflation, etc., bringing about a new economic era of great growth with millions of new jobs was a public relations put-on to end all put-ons."

Lempert adds that he is not assigning blame, noting that no one knows what would have happened without the two "corrective recessions" in the first two years of Reagan's reign.

A recent article on the Monitor's economy pages quoted a source understating the growth in retail sales. "This anecdotal baloney is not fit for publication," Lempert snaps in a letter. Then he offers the correct numbers, showing a goodly hike in these sales last year and so far this year.

Another Lempert pet peeve is the business reporter or economist who says consumer spending is two-thirds of economic activity. Lempert points out that consumer spending is part of demand in the economy, but it is not part of production or the supply side. The National Income Accounts purport "to measure the production of goods and services through a whole mess of known, estimated, guesstimated, and unknown statistics based on a theoretical concept of measure. The major popular statistic which has emerged is gross domestic product, a statistic revered by economists." Lempert terms it "infamous nonsense" when consumption is confused with production.

Looking at the current economic scene, Lempert holds that "struggling economic activity is not coming alive ... economic problems have not been solved. The weakness in economic activity worldwide, the declining money supply, the restrained commercial and industrial loans, and falling industrial raw materials prices are a few of the hints that all is not well."

The recent rise in inflation numbers is "a blip," Lempert says. "We don't normally get much inflation pressure if the economy is not doing anything."

Though a couple of copies of Lempert's analysis still go to the Fed, his Statistical Indicator Associates newsletter does not have as big a following as it did decades ago. "I'm not a force in the world," Lempert says. Sifting statistics is not for everyone.

BOOKS

Scholarly Meets Mainstream

University presses depart from their usual academic selections to offer general-interest books

By Mary Warner Marien

WHILE the scholarly monograph remains a central component of their enterprise, university presses have edged into a vacuum created by commercial publishers. In recent years, for-profit presses have increasingly focused on the bottom line, sometimes forsaking worthwhile titles that do not portend a bountiful payback.

Nudged by a weak economy, the not-for-profit university presses have been scouting new material, sometimes those very manuscripts rejected by the commercial presses on financial potential rather than substance. As a result, the distinction between trade publishers and university presses has blurred.

Adjusting their priorities, university presses are emphasizing more general-interest books that will sell reasonably well while satisfying their traditional responsibility to broker new ideas and to educate the public. The presses have increased their presence in bookstores, especially the large chains, begun advertising more in the mainstream media, packaged their books attractively, and brought their ordering systems in line with the trade presses.

Public-affairs publishing, a long-time strength of the university presses, has seen an emphasis on the readable, often shorter, book that might have once been brought out by a commercial publisher. For example, Mark Juergensmeyer's "The New Cold War: Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State" makes the history and issues surrounding worldwide religious fundamentalism accessible to a general audience.

Juergensmeyer suggests that unity among religious nationalists is unlikely. He asserts that we should come to terms with the enduring presence of religious nationalism and understand that religion offers a vision of morality and justice that certain nation states cannot or will not assure.

Many university presses have chosen to highlight environmental concerns among their public-affairs offerings. These books range from think pieces on global ecological responsibility to old-fashioned nature writing. Donald Worster's "The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination" is a contemplative essay on the way that past ideas about the relationship of humans to nature persist unavailingly into the present. Worster maintains that no amount of tinkering will correct what is, at root, a fundamentally obsolete and dangerous world view dependent on the appropriation of nature.

THE NEW COLD WAR?: RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM CONFRONTS THE SECULAR STATE
By Mark Juergensmeyer
University of California Press
292 pp., $25

THE WEALTH OF NATURE: ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY AND THE ECOLOGICAL IMAGINATION
By Donald Worster
Oxford University Press
255 pp., $25

A NATURALIST IN COSTA RICA
By Alexander F. Skutch
University Press of Florida
382 pp., $16.95

THE IMPERATIVE CALL: A NATURALIST'S QUEST IN TEMPERATE AND TROPICAL AMERICA
By Alexander F. Skutch
University Press of Florida
331 pp., $16.95

The fatalism that tinges Worster's view is aggressively counterbalanced in Christopher D. Stone's "The Gnat is Older than Man: Global Environment and Human Agenda." A practically minded environmental lawyer, Stone has set out to turn "apprehension into a more positive direction." He proposes a Global Commons Trust Fund, monies raised on the premise that nations utilizing the common heritage of the planet – the oceans and the atmosphere, for instance – be charged for their use. He recommends that the natural environment and species within it be represented through appointed "ecoguardians."

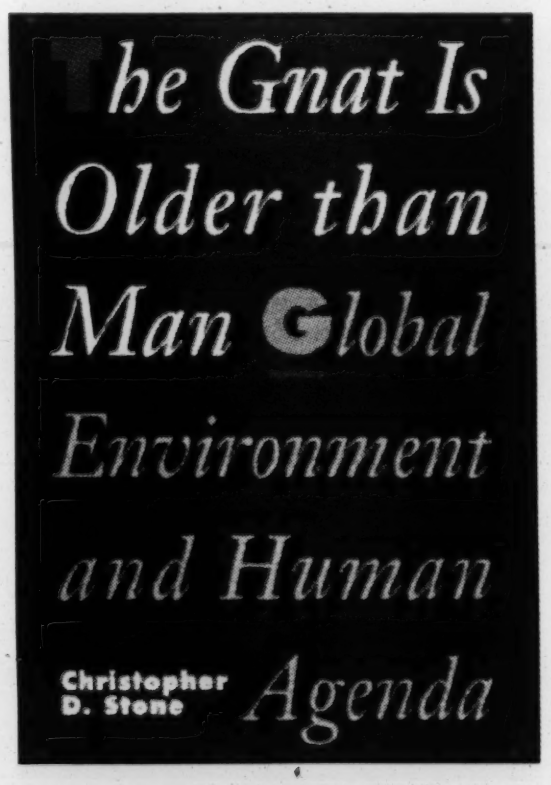
Politics is also at the heart of George B. Schaller's "The Last Panda," a book that concentrates as much on the authorities responsible for panda preservation in China as on the natural history of the species. Writing in the first person, Schaller presents a heartfelt delineation of greed, waste, and good intentions gone awry. He contends that we have an obligation to maintain pandas in the wild and that the Chinese policy of sending the popular species to zoos that request them, on long-term "rent-a-panda" schemes, should be halted in favor of creating strictly maintained panda preserves in China.

Many publishers, including university presses, have responded to the reading public's taste for ecologically vested nature writing and travel literature. In this vein, the University Press of Florida has reprinted the two-volume autobiography of award-winning ornithologist Alexander F. Skutch. "A Naturalist in Costa Rica" and "The Imperative Call" tell of Skutch's early years as a naturalist-farmer in

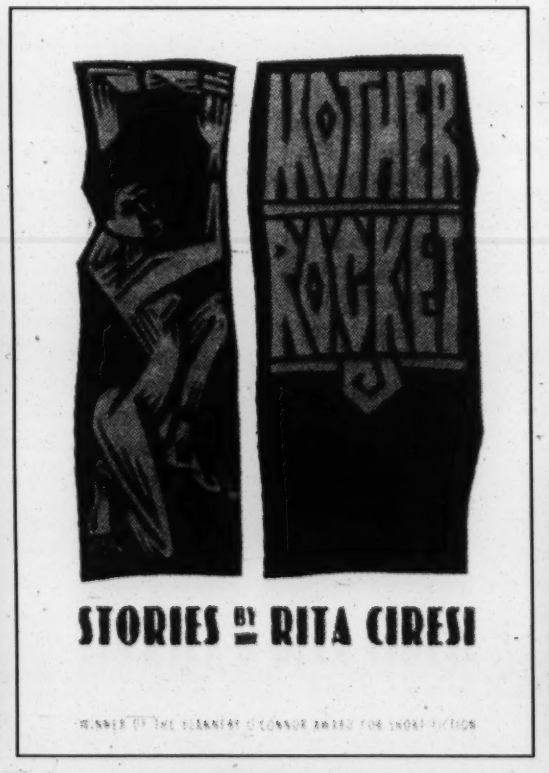
MURDER AT THE MLA
By D. J. H. Jones
University of Georgia Pr
217 pp., $19.95

Costa Rica, a country whose preservation of large rain-forest tracts has made it a favorite destination for bird-watchers and other ecotourists. Skutch writes in the relaxed parlance of 19th-century naturalists, whose careful observations were evoked in a pictorial language that is enjoying something of a revival today.

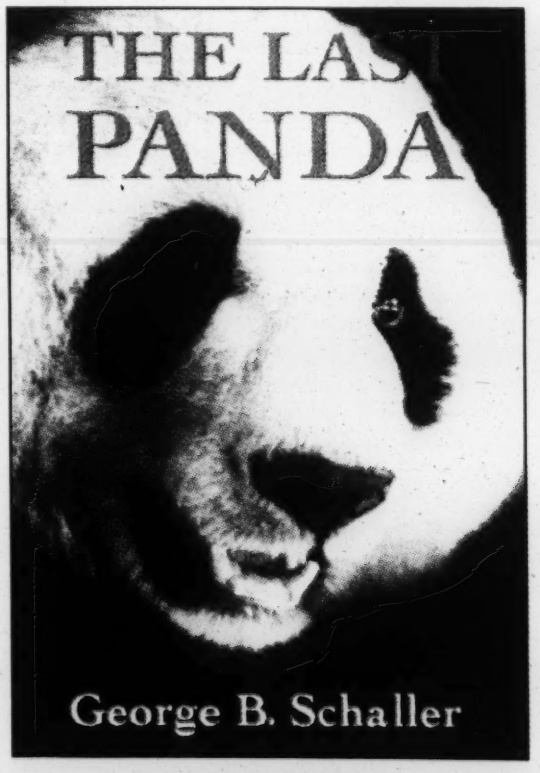
The Florida press played to its strength in tropical American studies by bringing out the Skutch reprints. Other smaller university presses have adapted their ongoing



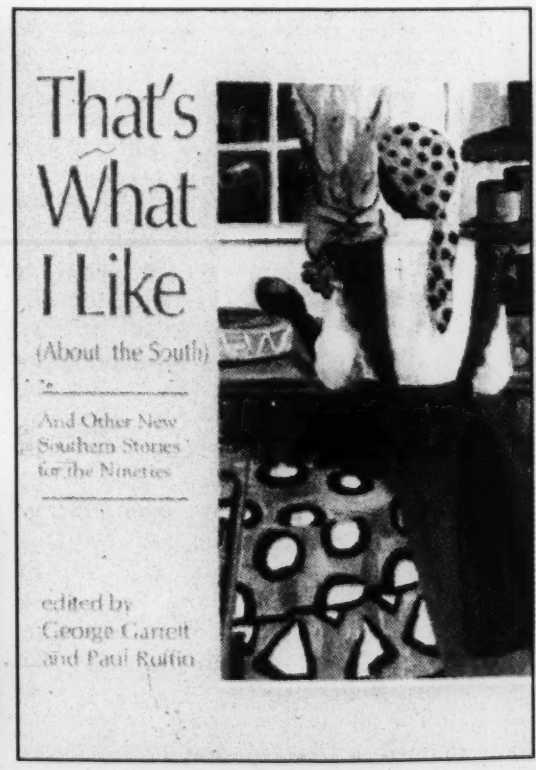
THE GNAT IS OLDER THAN MAN: GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT AND HUMAN AGENDA
By Christopher D. Stone
Princeton University Press
341 pp., $21.95



MOTHER ROCKET
By Rita Ciresi
University of Georgia Press
144 pp., $19.95



THE LAST PANDA
By George B. Schaller
University of Chicago Press
291 pp., $24.95



THAT'S WHAT I LIKE (ABOUT THE SOUTH)
Edited by George Garrett and Paul Ruffin
University of South Carolina Press
409 pp., cloth $34.95, paper $14.95

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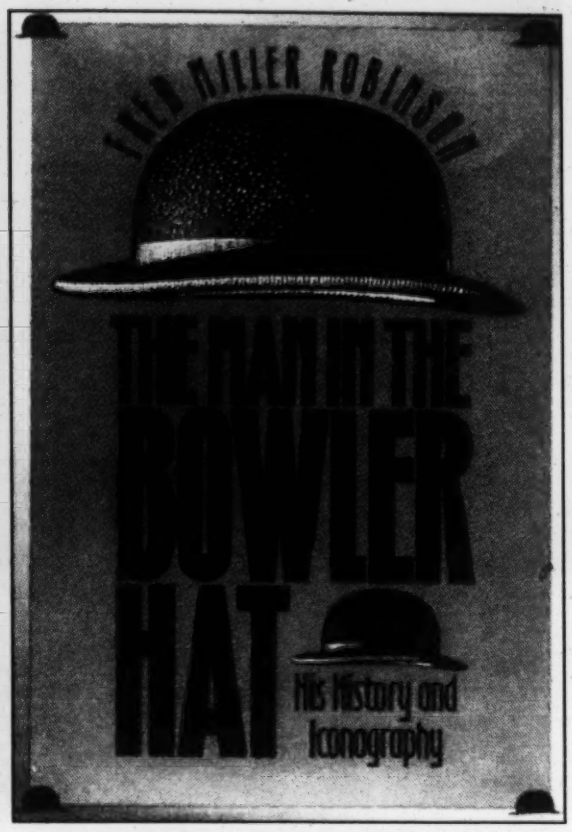
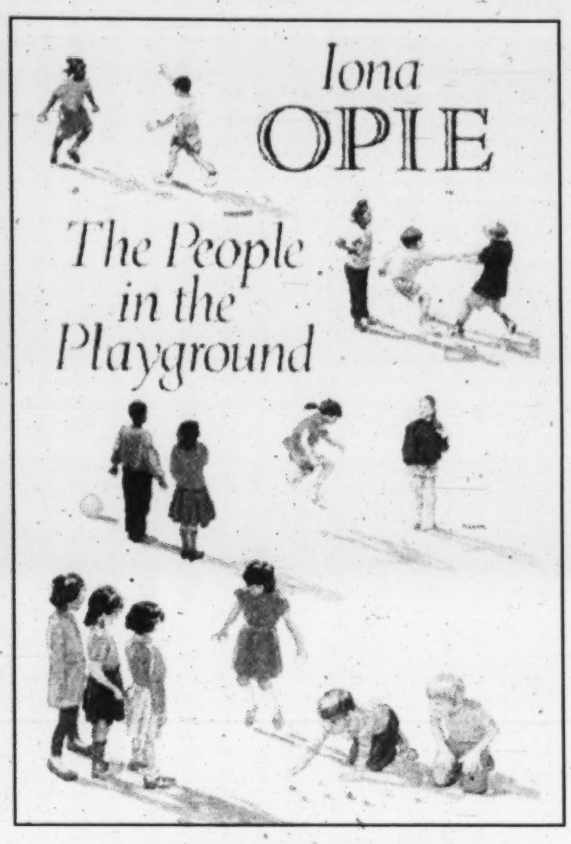


THE MAN IN THE BOWLER HAT: HIS HISTORY AND ICONOGRAPHY
By Fred Miller Robinson
University of North Carolina Press
198 pp., $24.95



THE PEOPLE IN THE PLAYGROUND
By Iona Opie
Oxford University Press
240 pp., $23

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lines in regional subjects, including fiction, to attract a greater market share. The University of South Carolina Press recently published "That's What I Like (About the South)," a comprehensive collection of short stories penned by Southern writers in the 1990s. The volume offers fiction from nationally known authors like Bobbie Ann Mason and Mary Lee Settle, as well as from less familiar writers like R. H. W. Dillard, whose contribution provides the title for the collection.

The University of Georgia Press has also presented several fictional offerings, including a collection of stories titled "Mother Rocket" by Southern writer Rita Ciresi, winner of the Flannery O'Connor Award for Short Fiction. The sleeper in the Georgia Press line might well turn out to be the satirical mystery novel, pointedly set at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association, called "Murder at the MLA." Written under the pseudonym D. J. .H. Jones, the story is guaranteed to make academics blush to see how easily English departments can be parodied. Jones's serious recommendations to improve the academy include gems like requiring English professors to teach literacy in the public schools in order to obtain tenure.

Explaining current curriculum battles and activities undertaken in the interests of what is variously labeled multiculturalism, political correctness, and deconstruction has become a minor industry among the university presses. Among some rather tart-tongued competitors, Peter N. Stearns's "Meaning Over Memory: Recasting the Teaching of Culture and History" is a balanced argument for reform. Stearns challenges the presumed mission of the humanities to instruct high school and college students in the canon of Western literary classics. He yearns to replace one orthodoxy with another, but he also wants to help students develop skills in analysis that will let them think for themselves.

Stearns's book can be beneficially paired with Houston A. Baker Jr.'s straight-talking essay on "Black Studies, Rap, and the Academy." As a founder of black studies in America and a former president of the Modern Language Association, Baker knows firsthand the issues driving the academic politics of multiculturalism. While he urges intellectuals to encounter rap as a crucial kind of urban expression, he refuses to endorse all rap music as honorable and condemns the "vicious sexism" of 2 Live Crew.

One promising area of university-press publishing is cultural studies. As the humanities have come to recognize popular culture as a substantial and meaningful realm of inquiry, the prospect for academic books with a broad audience has enlarged. Wolfgang Mieder's "Proverbs Are Never Out of Season," a look at the way in which proverbs have adapted to the post-industrial age, is simultaneously entertaining and edifying. Equally appealing is Iona Opie's "The People in the Playground," a closely observed, analytic record of kids' games, jokes, and nonsense verse. Opie's work is based on actual playground interactions. We learn not only what kids say, but also why and when they say it.

An example of the new cultural history and the recent trends among university presses is the widely reviewed study by Fred Miller Robinson, "The Man in the Bowler Hat." Robinson chronicles the social symbolism of this distinctive fashion article as it has appeared in literature, art, and popular culture. His chapter on the frequent use of bowler hats in the Surrealist paintings of René Magritte is complemented by a discussion of bowlers worn by early film stars like Charlie Chaplin.

The university presses' reach into more salable general-interest works is not without its critics, who equate popularity with superficiality or who imagine that economic pressures inevitably erode quality. This latest harvest, which barely samples the yield from some 100 university presses in the United States, goes a long way to allay those suspicions.

■ *Mary Warner Marien, who lives in LaFayette, N.Y., teaches fine arts at Syracuse University.*

MEANING OVER MEMORY: RECASTING THE TEACHING OF CULTURE AND HISTORY
By Peter N. Stearns
U. of North Carolina Press
254 pp., $24.95

BLACK STUDIES, RAP, AND THE ACADEMY
By Houston A. Baker, Jr.
University of Chicago Press
110 pp., $14.95

PROVERBS ARE NEVER OUT OF SEASON: POPULAR WISDOM IN THE MODERN AGE
By Wolfgang Mieder
Oxford U. Press, 284 pp., $25

Does TV Really Have All That Power?

OF all the contrarian theories I've encountered lately, one of the more perversely fascinating is expounded by Douglas Davis in his articulate new book, "The Five Myths of Television Power, or Why the Medium Is Not the Message" (Simon & Schuster).

Point by point, he attempts to disabuse readers of virtually all conventional wisdom about television's dominant place in our view of the world.

The five myth-shattering points Mr. Davis has nailed to the church door of prevailing communications theory are these:

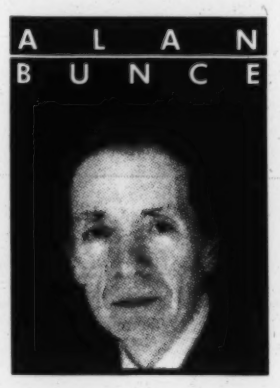
TV does not control our voting, since most voters polled say TV played a small part in their decisions.

TV has not destroyed our students; bad schools have.

TV is not our reality, does not make our world, and to heck with Marshall McLuhan. Note the public hunger, he urges, for "reality" TV and long-form events such as those on C-Span and CNN.

TV is not making couch potatoes of us all, as the rise in per-capita book sales, adult education, and other nonelectronic pursuits attests.

The last myth to be exposed? Well, it's that we love TV. Actually, he says, we hate it. Semisecret Nielsen figures he cites show a lower-than-claimed overall viewership, and in other polls people say they don't really like TV.



Hearing our cherished premises debunked – from TV's control of politics to whether it constitutes our reality – is great fun, since the author's gleeful war against "common sense" is waged with an intellectual panache evident on almost every page of this startling work. In fact, the only reservation I have is that the thesis itself may not actually be true. If I didn't know better, I'd say Davis was indulging a satiric bent for mock sophistry, with results something like the old Bob & Ray routine in which a cracker-barrel commentator makes a *reductio ad absurdum* of correcting canards, explaining that fire isn't really hot and water isn't wet.

One of the many things that make his claim hard for me to accept is that I come to it after hearing a chorus of authoritative opinion – from several directions – establishing precisely opposite facts about the medium. At a conference on TV recently, the day was devoted to decrying the medium's pervasive influence – the way it was debasing our political process, trivializing our social life, making our speech even more crass and superficial than it already is. There were dissenters on the panels, of course, many of them with built-in reasons for denying TV's faults. But none made the 180-degree turn Davis does in his book.

And that, of course, is Davis's point: This is the prevailing opinion, and it is wrong. But his argument itself is a kind of confirmation of TV's power. It cites the opinions of people who need to have been watching TV in the first place to register their objections to it. It points to an uptick in reading and adult education among people who are TV regulars. What these people *say* is that TV is not a big factor in their lives. What they *do* is view TV.

A person who averages four hours of TV viewing a day, yet claims it really doesn't exercise all that much control over him, is a little like someone who makes the mistake of being put under light hypnosis at a nightclub show. He tells himself he's going along with the hypnotist's commands only because he chooses to. If he felt like it, he could refuse the suggestions, of course. It's just that he doesn't happen to feel like it.

I don't really have to watch all that TV, say some people, to validate my reality or create my image of political figures. I watch it only because I choose to.

Americans may not actually be in control of TV's influence, but they are more conscious of its place in the epistemology of modern life than many media theorists' give them credit for. Davis's work is compelling evidence of this, sometimes through exaggeration. But one hopes the irony will not be lost on readers that it takes a full-sized book by an intelligent and informed observer – publicized through interviews on C-Span, among other places – to make people aware of their awareness.

If the author will forgive me, the advent of his book makes me think of a TV ad campaign for a men's cologne a few years ago. The man applying the aftershave gets a bracing slap in the face and says, "Thanks, I needed that."

SPORTS

Denver Forgives Rockies' Start

A last-place team has droves of eager fans

By Marilynne S. Mason
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

DENVER

THE sky is a brilliant azure after the benevolent afternoon rain shower. The last-place Colorado Rockies are about to play the first-place Philadelphia Phillies in Mile High Stadium, and local fans are wildly merry with anticipation: The majors have come to Denver and Denver is so grateful that it keeps filling the stadium with record numbers.

The Rockies lost, 15-9 – no surprise. Of 53 games, they have lost 38 as of June 2. No other team in the majors has lost so many. They make terrible mistakes. They are short on pitching talent. It doesn't seem to matter. Denver is in love. It forgives every mistake almost instantly. There's so much excitement, so much jolly, skeptical camaraderie in the stands, you'd think everyone was a proud parent who just wanted to see the kids play, no matter how badly.

Already, Mile High has racked up 1.5 million paying attendees. Local newspapers are as ecstatic as the fans and literally hundreds of stories have been written since the season opened in April. Many of these reports have been critical, naturally, but critical reviews hardly dampen the enthusiasm of fans or newspapers.

"They have succeeded at the box office beyond their wildest expectations," says Rocky Mountain News columnist and sports fan Mark Wolf. "Nobody expected these continuing crowds of 60,000 to 48,000 on a weekday.... People seem to be supporting them way out of proportion to their performance on the field. They are the worst team in baseball by far. Yet they are drawing fans at a record pace – a pace to break the all-time attendance records."

This first season, fans are coming out to witness the beginnings of major league ball in Denver, Mr. Wolf says. If the home team doesn't play particularly well, that's OK: The fans are getting a chance to see the games and players they've never seen before.

Chance to see other teams

"The fans love it whether the Rockies win or lose," says Tony Garva, a star pitcher for South High School here. "It's just having the team here in Colorado and being able to go to a major league game. I think the fans go more to see the other teams...."

"I think it's surprising even to the Rockies how big the crowd is," says sports fan Bob Denerstein. "I think people have the sense that they are witnessing something historic.

"I've been to more baseball games this season than in any season growing up in New York, where there was plenty of major league baseball. At the most, I would have seen 20 games in a season. I've already seen that many."

Denerstein finds Denver fans incomprehensibly polite. A Rockies player could make a ferocious error in the field and then come up to bat and be greeted by polite applause. In other towns, fans would be calling for him to be run out of town on a rail.

"It's as if the gods looked down on Denver and bestowed this team on us," Denerstein says. "I mean, that's how people seem to respond to it emotionally. And if one were to say something too critical, the team might be swept away, and 50,000 people sitting in Mile High Stadium would wonder, 'Where did we go wrong?' "

Team problems obvious

So Denver is forgiving, though everyone knows what the problems are: lousy pitching and a poor defense. The Rockies can hit – and at this high altitude, the ball goes farther, faster than it does at sea level – and they can run, bunt, and steal bases. But pitching and catching seem to be a bit out of their league, at least for now.

But then, nobody expects too much from an expansion team. After all, most of the players were cut loose from other teams because they weren't all that great. Still, the other expansion team, the Florida Marlins, are doing better and their fans are not nearly as supportive as Rockies' fans.

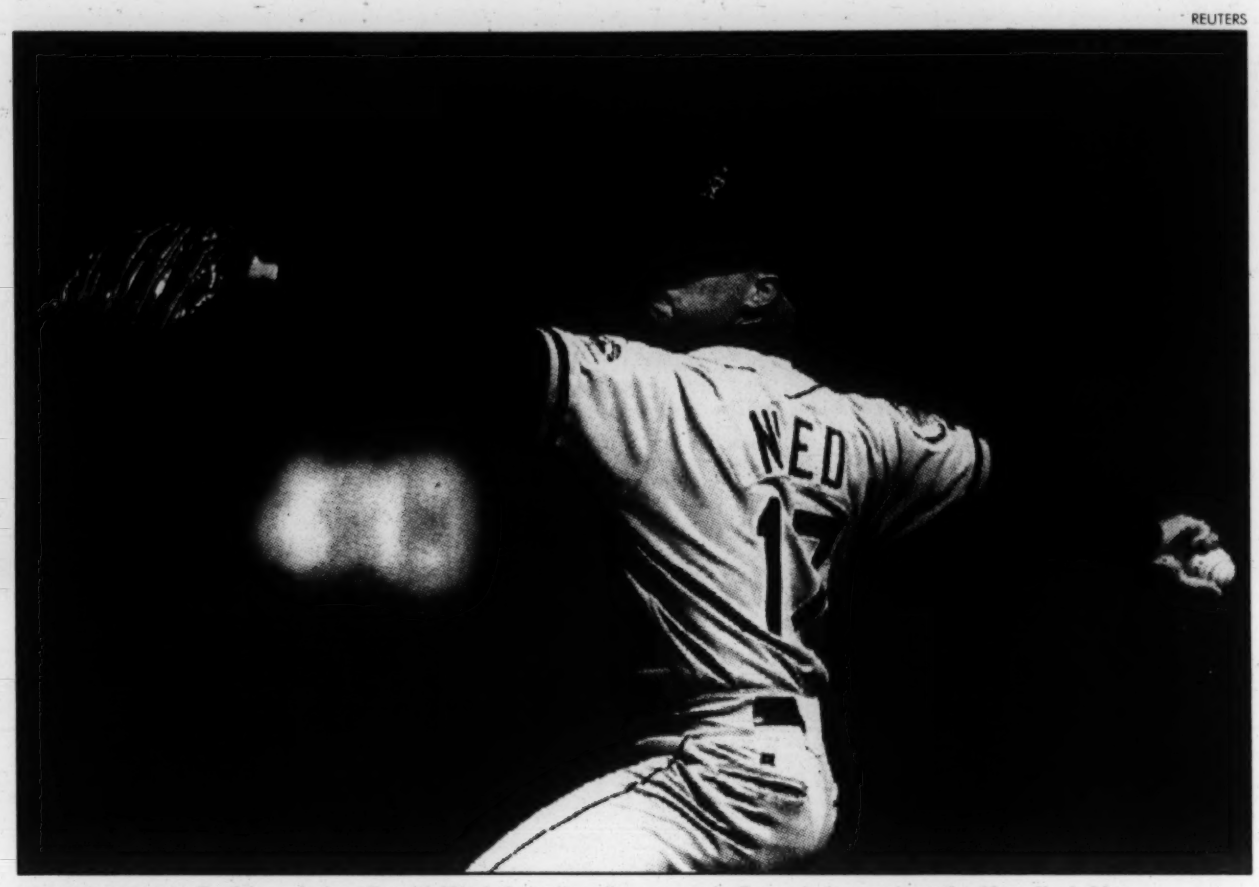
Its geographical isolation is part of what makes Denver what it is. The city is not very near anything else. If you go up the East or West Coast, says Denerstein, you trip over baseball teams. But Denver is in the middle of nowhere; there's not another large city for hundreds of miles. Having a major league team, Denerstein says, lessens that feeling of isolation – here's Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Philadelphia coming to Denver. Moreover, a new major league team helps define Denver as a nationally significant city. Even the name Colorado Rockies is meant to have a regional impact. Tourists already have flocked to games, and the Rockies' overall economic impact on Denver this year is projected at $175 million.

"You know what the fun of it is?" Denerstein asks. "You do feel a sense of excitement.... You are participating in something novel and fresh – and also communal."

It's true. The atmosphere at the Phillies-Rockies game was a community atmosphere. There is a frenzy surrounding the pro-football Broncos that is absent here. Maybe it's because more people can afford to take their kids to a baseball game while relatively few can afford Broncos tickets: The best seat for a Rockies game is $14, but that same seat sells for $30 at a Broncos game.

The Rockies allow a wider range of patrons to enjoy that community spirit, to share in something that belongs to the whole town.

REUTERS



FOR THE RECORD: *Rockies pitcher David Nied throwing the season's first pitch, against the New York Mets.*

Recording Batting Stats: a Tricky Business

BOSTON

STATISTICS dominate baseball as they do no other sport. Everyone admires the .300 hitter. Fans know such bits of esoterica as the last person to hit .400 (Ted Williams, .406 in 1941) or the all-time batting leader (Ty Cobb, .367). Even those whose interests have turned elsewhere may recall how "As a kid, I knew all the batting averages."

But how are these figures arrived at?

Determining a batting average is a simple mathematical procedure: Divide the total number of hits by the number times a player came up to bat. For example: If a player came up four times and had one hit, his average would be .250.

It's obvious what constitutes a hit, but the definition of an at-bat is complicated. Any time a batter gets a hit, reaches base on an error, or is called out (with the exceptions noted below), he is charged with a time at bat. When he receives a base on balls (a walk) or is hit by a pitch, no at-bat is charged.

The exceptions involve sacrifices – both bunts and fly balls. Any time the batter squares around to bunt with the clear intention of advancing the runner – and succeeds – it is a sacrifice and no time at bat is recorded. Sometimes a batter will not square around but will wait until the last minute to lay down a surprise bunt – and then it is up to the official scorer to decide if it is registered as a time at bat).

KNOW BASEBALL BETTER

The sacrifice fly rule is based on the theory that by trying to hit the ball in the air to score a runner, the batter is decreasing his own chance of getting a hit, and thus shouldn't be charged with a time at bat. This one has been in and out of the rule books, but seems a permanent fixture now.

The first formal requirement for winning a batting title stated that a player had to appear in at least 100 games. In the 1940s and 1950s this was amended to provide that he must have at least 400 at-bats.

But in 1954 an obvious injustice occurred. Ted Williams led the league at .345 but had only 386 official at-bats. The reason was not that he didn't play regularly, but that he led the league in walks – he had an incredible 136 bases on balls. Under the rules in force, the title went to runner-up Bobby Avila, who hit .341.

This led to another change in the qualifying requirements so as not to penalize a hitter if he was such a threat that he received an inordinate number of walks.

Under the new formula, a player must have at least 3.1 plate appearances (including walks, sacrifices, etc.) for every scheduled game – a requirement, by the way, under which Williams would have qualified with plenty to spare in 1954.

– Larry Eldridge

Broadway's Prince Grooms Heirs

Tony-nominated director of 29 musicals joins effort to develop a new theatrical generation

By Tony Vellela
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

'NO one comes into this office with wonderful musicals. You have to make them." Leaning back in his chair, the lean gray-bearded gentleman explaining his views on the American musical theater speaks from experience.

Hal Prince has directed 28 musicals. His 29th, "Kiss of the Spider Woman," opened on Broadway last month and is likely to capture at least a few Tony Awards Sunday night (it is nominated for 11, including one for Mr. Prince as best director of a musical).

Today he's not talking about his own work, but the future of musical theater. He has lent his name and his time to a new project to train musical-theater directors – the generation that will follow him, Tommy Tune, and Jerry Zaks.

THEATER

"The whole notion that there's a great difference between directing something for the first time and something that was done five years ago escapes young directors and escapes the business," Prince says. New material must be shaped, cut, nurtured, and sharpened, with those steps done in collaboration with the book writer, the lyricist, and the composer. That kind of experience remains hard to come by for young directors.

In a comedy or drama, the playwright and director work out problems between them. But musicals involve such elements as musical arrangements, choreography, storytelling in song, balance between music and spoken dialogue, and varied pacing.

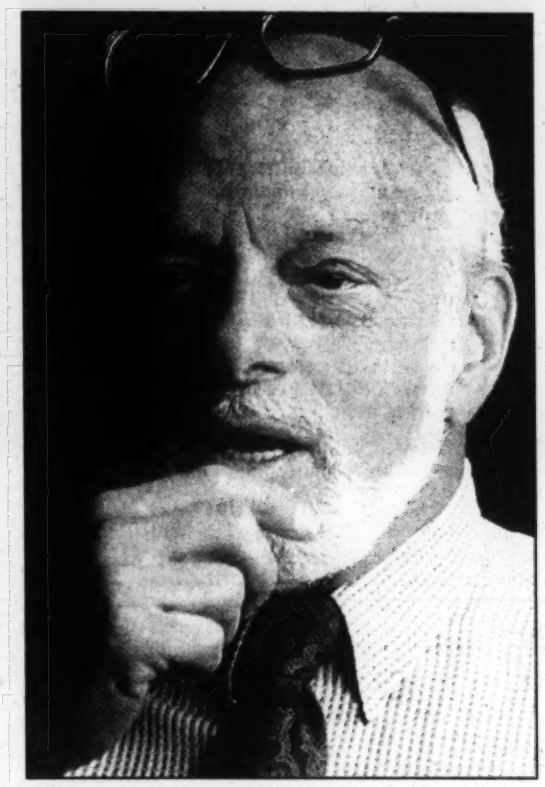
Will musicals survive with the escalating costs needed to produce them? Mr. Prince says they can, "because there's money in musicals. When you read that 'Phantom of the Opera' grossed $1 billion, you know yourself that that's more than any movie in the history of Hollywood." But training directors to find and develop new musicals will be a key element in the genre's survival.

That is where the Directors Company comes in. Founded as a laboratory for young directors of plays, the organization has for 10 years offered novice directors an opportunity to develop their craft, using studio, rehearsal, and office spaces near Broadway.

"What we realized was that this need also extended to the musical theater," says Victoria Chesshire, one of the founders. Backed by foundation grants and willing to provide its own resources, the Directors Company found an ally in Prince.

For three months last winter, the first Harold Prince Musical Theater Program provided four men and women the opportunity to experiment with this complicated craft. I visited the workshop Prince conducted Feb. 8.

"Cowardice will get you nowhere," Prince tells his students. "The very first show I directed from scratch, 'She Loves Me' in 1963, had four stars – Barbara Baxley, Barbara Cook, Dan Massey, and Jack Cassidy – and not one of them would do what I told them to do without a fight," he says with a laugh.



HAROLD PRINCE: *The veteran says training new directors is key to musical theater's survival.*

These days, the director of shows ranging from "Cabaret" and "Evita" to "Company" and "Phantom of the Opera" carries more clout. But the message is clear: Directors need a firm grasp on the process to steer a project to a successful conclusion.

Prince worries that the new generation is "alarmingly stodgy. They think that emulating the work of somebody who was in his prime in the 1970s is 'with it.' I would much rather see them find out what is theatrical: that 'astonish me' syndrome." He tells students to learn all they can about the form, using everything from Bertolt Brecht, who wrote the book and lyrics for Kurt Weill's "The Threepenny Opera," to old 78-rpm cast recordings, and urges them to master conventional stagecraft.

"You ought to know how to write, from the composer's point of view, a 32-bar song, and know how to write lyrics so they have inner rhymes," he says, encouraging students to accept and acknowledge different styles of music.

The first class included Jonathan Alan Arak, Nancy Hancock, Rod Kaats, (who has directed musicals in regional theater), and John Carrafa (previously an assistant choreographer to Twyla Tharpe). Each participant chose a new musical, and 20-minute segments from each were fashioned for them to work on.

The Directors Company guided them in casting, selecting musical directors, finding designers, and also provided space and resources. Prince, his associate Arthur Masella, and the Directors Company's Ms. Chesshire and Michael Parva offered notes, comments, and criticism as the rehearsals progressed.

"I was very interested in doing a musical about a subject that has not been explored before," explains Mr. Hancock, whose selection "Northstar," by Kirsten Childs and Laurie Uguccioni, deals with a ghetto teenager confronted by street crime who is teleported back to the days of slavery.

"My piece is about taking life by the horns instead of living a life run by outsiders," Mr. Arak says. "Johnny Pye and the Foolkiller," based on a Stephen Vincent Benét story, was created by Randy Courts and Mark St. Germain.

"I had tremendous difficulty staging one song because it was too long and too repetitive," Hancock says. "Another song was written only for the male voices, and the emotional life I wanted to tell about included the women. We collaborated on all these things."

"What I found most helpful was the preparatory work, like choosing a metaphor and making sure every moment rings true to that metaphor," Hancock says. "Hal Prince made the distinction for us between something on stage being predictable and being inevitable. There's such a difference."

The workshop culminated in a week-long presentation of the participants' efforts attended by guests from all parts of the theater community. The results were judged so successful that the program will become an annual event.

"The results exceeded my expectations," Chesshire says. "The production elements were handled beautifully," which she says gave the pieces their best possible environment. "Our goal was to see if this could be a viable program," Parva says. "We now know that it can do what it was supposed to do." The next round of workshops may begin as soon as November; a five-year plan is in development.

Hancock says that if economics prevent large projects from happening, "we'll have to develop smaller musicals to get people excited about musicals again. We have to be enthusiastic and dream our own dream."

American Public Radio To Air Bosnia Special

BOSTON

AMERICAN Public Radio will broadcast a live two-hour world news special tomorrow on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Produced by Monitor Radio, a broadcast service of The Christian Science Monitor, the program is a collaboration between Monitor Radio, Marketplace, the BBC World Service, the Canadian Broadcasting Company, and Deutsche Welle.

The program will consist of live interviews and pre-recorded reports from around the world. Scheduled to participate are former CIA director William Colby; former Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic; Canadian Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, former United Nations commander in Sarajevo; Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic; and the Bosnian government's UN representative, Muhamed Sacirbey. Monitor Radio's Steve Delaney will anchor the program from Washington, with Helen Palmer from London. The report will air at 12 noon Eastern time on many public radio stations and on the shortwave World Service of The Christian Science Monitor. Listeners should check local listings.

– By a staff writer

FREEZE FRAMES

A weekly update of film releases

By David Sterritt

■ CLIFFHANGER Sylvester Stallone pursues a passel of bad guys across one mountaintop after another. There's a visceral charge to the high-altitude chase scenes, but the thriller ultimately falls flat, even on its own limited terms. This is partly because of a perfunctory love-and-loyalty subplot, centering on the hero's rivalry with another mountaineer, and partly because of the story's incredibly weak psychology, full of dithering about guilt feelings and the need for he-men to prove their he-manliness by conquering their fears. But most offensive are the movie's explosions of brutal violence, dished out by everything from automatic rifles to mountain boots. How insecure today's filmmakers must be if they don't trust high adventure on awesome peaks to entertain their audience, but feel impelled to charge up the action with bloodspurts and bonecrunching. Renny Harlin directed. In the cast, Michael Rooker has some effective moments, but John Lithgow steals the show as the chief villain. *(Rated R)*

■ THE MUSIC OF CHANCE – A decent but disillusioned man meets a professional gambler and finds himself involved in a bizarre poker game with two eccentric millionaires. When he and his partner gamble away everything they possess, they become indentured servants, unable to leave the rich men's estate until they work off their debt by completing a strange architectural project. Based on a novel by Paul Auster, the movie seems oddly self-conscious in its eagerness to be surprising and occasionally shocking; and its stylized visual approach works against the sense of detailed realism that characterizes much of the screenplay. The film is certainly original, though, and boasts engaging performances by Mandy Patinkin and James Spader, among others. Directed by documentarist Philip Haas in his feature-film debut. *(Rated R)*

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MONITOR CLASSIFIEDS
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MUSIC

Cliburn Competition Heats-Up

By Scott Pendleton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

FT. WORTH, TEXAS

ON Sunday the world will learn who wins the Ninth Van Cliburn International Piano Competition. Whether the victor is "another Van Cliburn" remains to be seen.

This quadrennial contest, an Olympics of sorts for classical pianists, aims to bring to its gold medalist the same acclaim Mr. Cliburn earned at the first Tchaikovsky International Piano Competition in 1958.

In a photograph from that contest, Cliburn, handsome in his roomy tuxedo, performs with a rapturous expression, oblivious to the profusion of roses strewn at his feet by adoring Muscovites, who hug each other as they press to the stage.

The cold war made Cliburn's triumph all the more electrifying. Unlike Adolf Hitler, who refused to place a gold medal on black American track star Jesse Owens in the 1936 Berlin Olympics, Soviet leader Nikita Kruschev ordered the Tchaikovsky jury to let the best person win. And that was Cliburn, regarded by some critics as a once-in-a-century genius.

Unknown to the general American public when he left for Moscow, Cliburn returned to ticker-tape parades. To celebrate his victory, citizens of Ft. Worth, Texas, organized what is now one of the world's most prestigious piano competitions.

Yet no winner can boast to have inherited Cliburn's mantle of superstardom. None have possessed the Texan's charisma, says Moura Lympany, a competition juror from Great Britain, whose own concert career spans six decades.

"I think you're going to get it this year," Dame Lympany said after the 12 semifinalists were selected from among the 35 artists in the preliminaries. "Several people could suddenly happen."

Lympany acknowledges that the dramatic political context of 1958 is absent. Not only is the cold war over, but the Soviet Union also has dissolved. Veronica Reznikovskaya competed at the Eighth Cliburn competition under the watchful eye of a female KGB agent. Four years later, she has returned without state supervision. "Now we are free," Ms. Reznikovskaya says.

"You have to be in the right place at the right moment," Lympany says of Cliburn in 1958. "But you have to be able to deliver at that moment."

The right place for the preliminary and semifinal rounds of the Cliburn competition was Texas Christian University in Ft. Worth. TCU's Ed Landruth auditorium, a modest setting, is mostly adequate. But not long before the competition, the aging roof allowed water to leak onto a Steinway that Cliburn himself had selected.

AIR conditioning kept the audience cool enough during the 50-minute recitals that made up the preliminary round. But on the spotlit stage, one competitor after another reached for his handkerchief. Sergei Tarasov from Russia even wiped the keyboard at one point, later describing it as "a river." Between each performance, white-gloved attendants wiped the piano with a chamois cloth.

Some of the heat was in response to the pressure of competition. "I was so scared," says Shirley Hsiao-Ni Pan, a Canadian citizen born in Taiwan. "I thought I was going to pass out at any moment."

Relaxing in jeans and white socks on the rug of her host family's home, Ms. Pan was the final performer of the preliminaries and one who advanced to the semifinals. She started a Bartok selection with "the usual *mezzoforte*" but found that she couldn't hear herself playing.

"I couldn't tell whether I had started or not," Pan says. "The Ravel was the worst. It goes so fast. I missed so many notes."

Lympany says the pressure to perform well will always be there, even more so for the winners. "If you can't take it, give up the profession," she advises.

On the other hand, she dismisses accuracy as less important than spirit.

"We don't care about the minor mistake," the juror says. "In fact, the major mistake is nothing." When one performer ended on the wrong note, the jurors smiled knowingly at each other, she says.

"The point is," she adds, "let yourself go. Don't be restrained." The audience should be excited or moved.

American Frederic Chiu advanced to the semifinals after a daring performance. Rather than sticking to traditional piano classics, he chose transcriptions of other works, including some of his own arrangements.

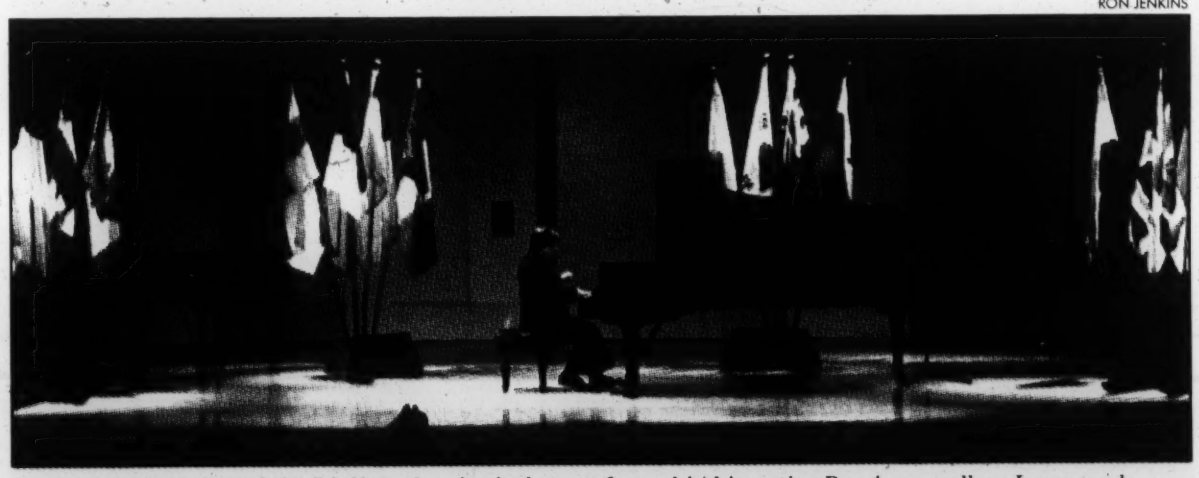
"I did that on purpose to provoke a response from the jury," Mr. Chiu says. He criticizes competitions as being long on conformity.

He says they also serve no artistic purpose from the competitor's point of view. Giving audiences the "sports thrill" of a winner and loser is a bad introduction to classical music, where performance is subjective, he says.

Nonetheless, "the money is here," Chiu says. Prizes for first place are worth $200,000. Well-known in Europe, Chiu was hoping that the Cliburn competition could make his reputation in the United States.

But, he did not make the list of six finalists, announced Tuesday night. They are Armen Babakhanian, Armenia; Fabio Bidini, Italy; Valery Kuleshov, Russia; Simone Pedroni, Italy; Johan Schmidt, Belgium; and Christopher Taylor, United States.

RON JENKINS



VALERY KULESHOV: *One of six finalists, the pianist has performed in his native Russia as well as Japan and Europe with the St. Petersburg Philharmonic. The competition marks his North American debut.*

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ SUNDAY

The Tonys *(CBS, 9-11 p.m., E.T.)*: Broadway's big night often proves to have a panache missing from other events in this abused genre, even though its ratings are typically lower than Oscar or Grammy night. One of executive producer Gary Smith's goals this year – a somewhat wistful one – is to get the live broadcast over on time. Last year one of the Tony winners actually read a poem on camera, and Smith has sent out pleas to nominees to keep their acceptance speeches to 30 seconds – especially since more speeches than usual loom this year: The awards for sets, costumes, and lighting will all be done on camera – following a flap over the fact that last year's were done off-stage. The evening is hosted by Liza Minnelli, who will also perform.

■ MONDAY

Fame in the 20th Century *(PBS, 9-11 p.m.)*: Clive James, one of Britain's better-known writers and broadcast personalities, leads American viewers through a four-part examination of what "fame" means, who has it, and how long it tends to last. The topic is not one of compelling originality, but James is both an informed and funny fellow whose presence helps make this enterprise something more than a thinking man's "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous." Decades ago, of course, Andy Warhol foresaw a society in which everyone will become famous for 15 minutes, but this subject looks at the enduring figures of history like Hitler, Elvis Presley, and Ernest Hemingway. A mixed bag, but such eclecticism helps the series explore the nature of fame itself.

Episode 1 runs from 1900 to 1926 and notes the rise of mass-circulation newspapers, the ascendancy of silent-film stars like Douglas Fairbanks Jr. and Mary Pickford, and other bright names. In an article about fame, James notes that if you count this century's figures of lingering fame, or those whose present fame appears to be permanent, you end up with 250. His criterion is pure fame, not merit, and his list is inevitably arbitrary. But his approach makes the subject manageable and even entertaining.

Please check local listings, especially for the PBS program.

The Home Forum.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

SMOOTH AND CREAMY: *Chocolates catch the attention of children of all ages.*

Tempted by the Taste of Chocolate

MY friend Roger used to think I was the luckiest girl in the fourth grade because my father sold candy. On weekends, Roger rode his bike to my house where my father would be sorting through his samples, getting rid of those that might not be fresh. The discarded but clearly edible candy would go in big boxes that my father and I would haul to a local service agency that gave food to people who couldn't afford to buy groceries.

Roger showed up every Saturday, leaping from his bike with an incredulous look on his face as he watched my dad toss candy bars and boxes of sweets into a box. He watched until small mountains of candy emerged from the carton's top and spilled over onto the garage's concrete floor.

"I can't believe it," Roger would say as predictably as a day begins and ends, and then again, "I can't believe it." He'd shake his head and start to circle the box. Polite by nature, he'd stand a while before he'd softly ask my father, "Mr. Hegge, you gonna give this stuff away?"

And as he'd answered Roger so many Saturdays before, my father would say, "You want some, Roger?"

"Me?" Roger would look a bit surprised at this point and move in closer to the box.

"Sure," my dad would say, barely looking up from his task, "help yourself."

In our family, candy was no big deal. It only took one night of dipping into the sweet butter toffee that was my father's best seller for me to become ill enough to put candy in a proper perspective.

My only true temptation was a chocolate candy that was around our house on various holidays when my father's boss sent us fancy satin-covered boxes of hand-dipped chocolates.

Maybe it was because this candy wasn't readily available that it was such a magnet for me. Maybe it was because my father had introduced me to the very ladies who dipped creamy candy insides into melted chocolate at the main factory in Seattle.

ONE woman spent the better part of an afternoon showing me how quickly and carefully they plunged the candy into the big vats of chocolate. She showed me how the top of each candy was marked with a "code" design that told what flavor was inside. I paid special attention to the raspberry cremes because they were my favorites.

Several months after that visit, a gift of two boxes of hand-dipped chocolate came in the mail. My mother let me tear off the brown wrapping paper. Each holiday the box was a new design. This year the boxes were a special promotion for July 4th. Red, blue, and silver stripes wound around the rectangular boxes. A stiff gold ribbon was glued to the container's lid.

As she did every year, my mother let me choose a piece of candy. This time was special because the lady at the factory had given me a kind of map to the candies that sat in individual brown paper doilies, snuggled up against each other like members of a big family.

I picked up a dark round chocolate with a wavy "S" symbol on the top. With complete confidence, I bit into the candy expecting the familiar burst of raspberry. But this flavor wasn't raspberry. It was sticky, sweet coconut – my least favorite flavor.

"Ugh," I said, as disappointed in my ability to read the symbols as I was in the persistent flavor in my mouth.

That night when my parents were still in the kitchen talking, I walked quietly to the bookshelf and opened the box of sweets. Where had I gone wrong? Had I not paid enough attention at the factory? Looking at the array of candy, it seemed that every piece's symbol could be made into a wavy "S."

I took a nibble of a dark candy, just enough to see the white center, then carefully stuck it back in the box. Then I nibbled another with an S-like design on the top. Soon, I'd left small holes in the bottom half of the chocolates in the box. When I finally found the raspberry, I realized that the S looked more like a collapsed "Z," and I vowed to be more careful in paying attention to details.

IT never occurred to me to worry about what happened the next night.

My father had invited another salesman to dinner. This man was from a company in Japan and spoke just a bit of English. My father wanted to make him feel welcome.

After dinner, my mother headed toward the chocolates. The room felt suddenly hot, and I felt as I did the day I ate too much toffee from my dad's storeroom in the basement.

The gentleman chose a piece of candy. Was I mistaken or did my father's eyes widen a bit as he saw the candy with a distinct hole in the bottom disappear into the man's mouth?

"Hmmm," said my father as my mother chose a piece with a bit of lemon filling showing through the hole at the bottom.

"Would you care for a piece, Melissa?" said my father.

"No, thank you."

After the guest left that night, my father said only one thing to me: "Sometimes it takes a lot of tries until you get something right." He winked at me. "Just tell me next time before I offer the candy to a guest," he said, "so someone doesn't think we have little mice."

Many times in my childhood I knew the importance of my father, but it was only years later that I realized how much I could trust that he would never embarrass me, even when I'd already embarrassed myself.

I guess it takes someone like him to sell something as sweet as candy. I saw my friend Roger several years ago. Thirty-five years later, he still laughs in the old familiar way at the thought of all that candy. "Your dad," he said, "was an amazing man."

"He still is," I tell him, and think to myself, "in more ways than one."

Melissa Madenski

The Oompah That Wasn't

FORTY years ago this yarn was "classified"; an official United States No-No was applied to conceal its absurdity rather than to spare the Union adverse publicity. I was in Germany in 1953, doing a small errand for our State Department, and I'm sure you will not have heard this one until now. We had at that time not only our heavy military stance but also a considerable mission known as HICOG to aid defeated Germany into the postwar path of democratic righteousness. In that year James B. Conant, Harvard's president, became our ambassador to Germany and also our High Commissioner for the Occupation of Germany – HICOG. His HQ was at Mehlem on the Rhine, just upstream from Bonn. The Soviet Union, France, and England, as our victorious allies, each had an occupation zone such as ours, and the boundaries were observed.

As part of our military, we had the celebrated Seventh Army Band. Even in band-cluttered Germany, where "oompah" is second only to whipped cream, this American military group was esteemed. It had 77 trombones, 78 glockenspiels, and three brigadier generals. And it came into the head of the Lord Mayor of the city of Freiburg to invite the Seventh Army Band to come to his city and do a concert for a local charity. German cities, I understand, like to have two mayors. The *Oberbürgermeister* runs the city, attends the banquets, and makes the speeches, while his associate comes around after the festivities and helps wash the dishes.

JOHN GOULD

Evidently the *Oberbürgermeister* of Freiburg had clout enough to get his desire up the line to Commissioner Conant's office, and deliberation began. It was decided that this could be a gesture of merit in the way of German-American relations, and one day the Lord Mayor was happy to learn that his wish had been granted: The Seventh Army Band would play a charity concert in Freiburg. He was told that 2,700 tickets were being printed, and it would be his duty to see they were sold and a big SRO crowd assembled. With customary efficiency, he sold the tickets in lots to his party supporters, who paid for them and then sold them again. The crowd was assured.

Meantime, HICOG had a splendid idea, and the Lord Mayor was notified that in addition to the music of the Seventh Army Band, the program would include operatic selections from various German masterpieces by a Miss Truman. Miss Truman was the daughter of our president, Harry, and this was the greatest thing that had happened to Freiburg since 1493, when the library acquired the Portuguese charts used by Columbus when he sailed to America.

Understand that Freiburg is in southern Germany and was in the French zone of occupation. And somebody in Washington, D.C., got to thinking about this and wondered if Paris might consider this concert an intrusion from the American zone, and international amity might be offended. Diplomacy is like that. Until that time, about the only cultural note the Republic of France had lavished on its zone was the clear-cutting of some stately and revered trees in the sacred Black Forest – an act the Germans considered a more heinous atrocity than the last-day bombing obliteration of Happy Freudenstadt. The German rule is that one may look at the Black Forest but *ne touche pas!* Would Paris resent this concert?

So word came the next morning by *Eilbote* that the Seventh Army Band and Miss Truman would not be able to appear in Freiburg after all. A flimsy excuse was offered – something like the tympanists were grounded in Frankfurt for infractions under the Emily Post Accord. The Lord Mayor was heartbroken and devastated and tore up his speech. The affection he had been nourishing for the United States of America turned to disdain. But then he straightened up, tossed his head, smiled, and muttered the German equivalent of OK – which I think is OK.

He announced that the big concert would not take place, but that the charity would still get the money from the tickets. Instead of the band and the president's daughter, the subscribers would be entertained by the Lord Mayor himself, who would play the piano. This came to pass. Freiburgers, let down by the USA, came just the same to show how they felt. His Lordship played. Miss Truman never sang in Freiburg. France was not offended. And as substitute for the band, the Mayor alone was a big success.

Confrontational Acts Can Be Negated

WHETHER in the morning newspaper or on the evening newscasts, the media tell us of confrontations all the way from world governments to our local areas. While we lament such conflicts, and may even pray about them, it's often only when conflicts come close to our own domain that we feel hurt or personally involved. It seems to hurt more when clashes come from family members or friends or even co-workers. Misinterpretation or misunderstanding may trigger an incident, but it seems as though whatever the cause, once accusations erupt there's no way to compromise. How can we handle such situations?

An effective way to restore brotherly love to such apparently intractable situations is to turn to the Bible for guidance. The Scriptures tell of many discordant situations that were adjusted through earnest prayer. Twins Jacob and Esau are an example of how animosity between family members was healed. We are told in the book of Genesis that Jacob prayed with great earnestness all night before being reunited with his brother. Both the Old and New Testaments give wonderful insights that help us deal with jarring instances in day-to-day living. In Luke's Gospel, for example, Christ Jesus tells his followers—including us: "Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you." A little further on he adds that God "is kind unto the unthankful."

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Consecrated and steadfast prayer turns us away from self—from personal feelings, thoughts, or hurts—and toward the Father of all. Prayer includes a quiet listening to God, good, that prepares us to receive His direction. Such hearing must be followed by obedience, of course, for listening without action is useless.

Confrontational situations, then, can be seen as an opportunity to acknowledge that differing human beliefs and opinions will yield to God's divine will when one's motive for prayer is to seek and to live in accord with good.

In her writings, Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, has much to say about human relationships. She encountered harsh, unyielding, and unjust circumstances while establishing Christian Science. And so her insights come from her own experience.

In her *Message to The Mother Church for 1902* she tells us: "Brethren, even as Jesus forgave, forgive thou. I say it with joy,—no person can commit an offense against me that I cannot forgive. Meekness is the armor of a Christian, his shield and his buckler." How often—and how foolishly—we feel "I *must* have said or done *something* for so-and-so to have acted (or reacted) in such a manner"! But we don't have to be tempted to assign blame—to ourselves or anyone—when we let meekness be our armor.

One time I was confronted by a co-worker on a project. She evidently thought it was high time for someone to tell me off, and she proceeded to do this very thoroughly. I turned to walk away but instead found myself standing still. I had recently experienced two healings through prayer. I was very joyful about the healings, as you can imagine. As I stood there while this person berated me, the thought came to me very clearly, "The healings you've had prove God's power; they prove that man cannot be touched, has never been touched, by error in any guise or form."

When the tirade ended, it was as though I had been standing behind a glass wall that the words hit and fell to the ground without touching me. I wasn't angry, hurt, or upset. I was convinced that I have never been touched by human opinions. I did, however, feel it was important to examine what the person had said and to correct in my own thought and behavior whatever I was doing that was not obedient to God's will. I prayed, quietly and humbly, until I felt sure that I had done this. I also realized that I needed to see this person, also, as the perfect spiritual offspring of the one Father, God, as pure and as loving as I desire to see myself. Very shortly I was able to offer to do something helpful for this woman, and friendly relations were restored.

In the Bible the book of Ecclesiastes points out, "God requireth that which is past." In consigning confrontational experiences to the past, however, we are not ignoring or hiding them. Instead we are depriving them of validity and power. Then we are able to go forward with today, which is a new day, crowned with radiance and filled with opportunities to resolve conflict.

You can find more articles like this one in the Christian Science Sentinel, *a weekly magazine.*

BIBLE VERSE

And there was a strife between
the herdmen of Abram's cattle
and the herdmen of Lot's cattle . . . .
And Abram said unto Lot,
Let there be no strife,
I pray thee,
between me and thee,
and between my herdmen and thy herdmen;
for we be brethren.
Genesis 13:7, 8

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Guatemala's Democracy

WITH Guatemala's week-and-a-half-old political crisis far from settled, the best thing the international community can do to support the restoration of constitutional rule is to keep up its economic pressure.

That pressure, plus increasingly broad public demands to restore democracy, led to Wednesday's countercoup against President Jorge Serrano Elías, who assumed near-dictatorial powers on May 25. Apparently taking a page from Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori's handbook on governing in times of "crisis," Serrano last week suspended constitutional government, dissolved the Supreme Court and Congress, censored the press, restricted freedom of assembly, and allowed arrests without warrants. All this to deal with what he termed government corruption and drug trafficking.

Another explanation: Through Mr. Serrano, the military was expressing its displeasure at rising popular unrest focused on the government's economic austerity program.

In response to the move, Japan announced June 1 that it was restricting future aid to Guatemala to emergency and humanitarian aid. From 1987 to 1991, Tokyo provided Guatemala with $191.3 million in assistance. European governments have suspended another $100 million. The United States froze much of a $50 million aid package and has threatened to withdraw Guatemala's status under the Generalized System of Preferences. This could affect up to one-third (or $160 million worth) of the country's exports, which go to the US.

The true test of the country's seven-year-old democracy lies in dealing with its problems via its democratic institutions, rather than dissolving them. Unfortunately, Serrano's removal fell just as short of that test as did his May 25 move, strongly indicating that the military is still in control. At the behest of the business community, which also consulted a number of political and social leaders, the Army withdrew support for Serrano, leading to his downfall. It has since thrown its support to Vice President Gustavo Espina Salguero. Even Guatamela's Nobel Peace Prize laureate Rigoberta Menchú said that, in Serrano's removal, "It is completely clear that this is a coup d'état against the people."

Continued economic sanctions should help focus the Guatemalan government's attention on restoring democracy.

Turkey's Travails

A TWO-MONTH cease-fire between Turks and Kurds in southeastern Turkey was broken last week when Kurdish separatist rebels killed 33 Turkish soldiers. On Wednesday, the Turkish military responded, killing 125 Kurd guerrillas.

A resumption of hostilities inside Turkey, which made steady progress on the Kurdish problem under late president Turgut Ozal, would be tragic. Mr. Ozal's sudden death in April, along with general uncertainties about relations among NATO allies now that the cold war is over, puts Turkey at a pivotal point.

Ankara can be an important player in the post-cold-war era, where regional powers are more prominent. Turkey is a unique Muslim state – moderate, democratic, secular – that reaches out in all directions: it bridges Europe and the Middle East; it is near the Persian Gulf; it borders the newly independent states of Central Asia.

A Turkish TV satellite will be put in orbit next December to link Turkey's 60 million people with the 34 million Turkish speakers in Central Asia and the 2 million in Europe. Ankara has already donated 2,500-line telephone terminals to four Central Asian states.

Yet more basic problems persist that could halt Turkey's progress, including a bad human-rights record. In order to strengthen its ties with Europe, forestall rising Islamic fundamentalism, and become a peacemaker in an unstable region, Turkey must resolve its own internal ethnic strife.

Though brutally repressed since the creation of the Turkish state in 1925, the Kurds refused to assimilate. For the past two years, Ozal liberalized Turkey's policies toward its 15 million Kurds, giving them the right to speak their language.

At the same time, Ozal cracked down on rebels in the southeast who since 1984 have fought for a separate Kurdish state. He sent 200,000 troops there in November. Breaking the March cease-fire may be Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan's way to test Ankara. Now, with Ozal gone, how will Turkey respond? Will it resort to crushing out the rebels in the way of Saddam Hussein? Or will it continue to work toward a political settlement?

Certainly, Turkey is big and secure enough to develop a multiethnic democracy. We hope a reformer is chosen as the new prime minister during elections this weekend. Bridges must be built to moderate Kurd leaders.

The West has a stake in helping Turkey. The US should advocate Turkish EC membership, which has been blocked by Greece and Spain. It can drop selective trade barriers.

Off to a rough start, the new US president seeks to restore electorate's confidence in him

Getting Clinton on Track

EVERETT CARLL LADD

AFTER just 130 days in office, Bill Clinton has declared his first attempt at governing the country a failure. He has reversed himself on homosexuals in the armed forces, accepting the stand of Senate Armed Services Committee chairman Sam Nunn, which is essentially an affirmation of the status quo. He has abandoned the Btu tax, which had been the centerpiece of his deficit-reduction program. And he has sacked his communications director, replacing him with a man who did spin control for three Republican presidents.

All of this came as two national polls showed just 36 percent of Americans approving his job performance – the smallest proportion backing a new presidency in the 60 years opinion surveys have been conducted.

All of us, whatever our party affiliation, must hope that President Clinton II will be more successful than Clinton I. The US cannot afford four years of incompetent presidential leadership. But what are the prospects that the administration will manage to right itself?

Most of the press commentary suggests that the president and his key assistants have simply been politically maladroit. They should have known that having a $200 haircut administered near the runway of Los Angeles International Airport would not send the right signal for a populist administration. They should have known that they would get bad marks from the Washington press corps when, a week after they fired the White House travel office staff for alleged malperformance, they announced that five of the employees had not in fact been fired at all.

Above all, the prevailing account has it, the administration has stumbled because it has violated its own first commandment to stay focused, "like a laser," on the issue of the day.

If the Clinton administration's difficulties have been primarily the result of political inexperience and ineptness, replacing the untested George Stephanopoulos with the seasoned David Gergen may well yield major dividends. But, I fear, the problems go far deeper. Matters of ethics and philosophy, not tactics, are at the heart of Clinton's poor start.

Consider the flap over the presidential haircut. The problem is not, in the first instance, that the affair was badly managed politically. Rather, it was an abuse of power to thus inconvenience thousands of airline passengers. Similarly, "Travelgate" attested to an ethical blind spot. The decision to channel jobs and business to political supporters is a fairly minor wrong, compared to seeking to justify the action by besmirching the staff who were to be replaced and bringing in the FBI as attempted cover.

From the beginning, the Clinton administration has acted on the assumption that governing is a gigantic political game and if only one pushes the right buttons, invokes the right symbols, things will go swimmingly. In fact, as the president and his aides have acted on the premise that governing is just an extension of campaigning, their political stock has plummeted.

Clinton came to office with many strengths but with one overriding weakness: A large portion of the public had doubts about the moral dimensions of his leadership. Rather than providing reassurance through steady actions as president, though, Clinton has "grown" his trust deficit. He has given the appearance that he is prepared to say whatever seems convenient at the moment. As long as this perception holds, no exercise in spin control and symbol manipulation can be successful. The president isn't trusted. The best politics for him, then, doesn't involve tactics at all, but rather showing himself to be trustworthy.

The Clinton administration has also suffered in its early months by running against the grain of popular understanding of government's role and status in contemporary life. Americans are not antigovernment, but they are highly critical of governmental performance. They sent a clear signal in the 1992 campaign that they wanted and expected better performance. But, emphatically, they signaled that they did not want more government.

Contemporary thinking as to government's role is about as far removed from that of 1936 or 1964 as it could possibly be. We want to see action on our pressing public problems. We now reject the argument, though, that more government is the way to get the needed action.

But virtually every proposal the Clinton administration has made calls for a bigger governmental role. In particular, all of the signals it has sent thus far suggest that it believes it can use the public's insistence on doing something about soaring health-care costs to push through the biggest expansion of government since Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs.

In this judgment the Clinton team is almost certainly wrong.

If Clinton stays on the course his aides have charted, thus far – of seeking to greatly expand government's reach in the area of health care through heavy federal regulation and taxation – he will invite a huge political backlash. Americans do, indeed, want to see government "reinvented" so as to be more efficient and competent. They do not want it to become a bigger actor in their lives.

■ *Everett Carll Ladd is professor of political science at the University of Connecticut and president of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.*

OPINION/ESSAYS

Democracy Wins a Round in Guatemala

By Terry L. McCoy

GUATEMALAN President Jorge Serrano Elías's suspension of constitutional rule gave President Clinton and Latin American leaders an opportunity to show that united opposition against threats to democracy can succeed. They forced the reinstatement of constitutional rule in Guatemala, setting an example for Europe and the rest of the world.

Mr. Serrano and his apologists would have had us believe he was acting to save Central America's largest country from corruption, chaos, and communism. But what he did by dissolving Congress and the courts was return power to the same cast of characters that gave Guatemala grinding poverty and the worst human-rights record in the Americas.

Serrano would have been president, but Guatemala would again have been in the hands of the armed forces and their wealthy supporters. The military and the elite have prospered while most Guatemalans live in poverty.

The American community of nations, led by the US and working through the Organization of American States, reacted immediately by insisting on a return to full constitutional rule, with Serrano stepping aside if he could not abide by the rules that brought him to office.

This condemnation, backed by the threat of economic sanctions that would have suspended foreign aid to Guatemala and cut it off from external markets, empowered Serrano's domestic opponents and ultimately turned the armed forces against him.

Yet, the danger to democracy isn't over. The armed forces have not hesitated to use violence to perpetuate political dominance and socioeconomic privilege. Their current reign dates from 1954, when an invasion by armed exiles, supported by the United States Central Intelligence Agency, overthrew a leftist-leaning elected government.

In the years since, the armed forces have met every challenge – be it from leftist guerrillas, peaceful trade unionists, or highland Indians (40 percent of Guatemala's 9.5 million people) – with ruthless force. More than 150,000 Guatemalans have died in the violence.

The 1992 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Guatemalan Indian Rigoberta Menchu for her human-rights efforts in the face of government repression. Ms. Menchu's mother, father, and brother were all murdered by government security forces.For thousands of Guatemalans the only way to escape from the terror and poverty of their country has been to leave. It is estimated that more than 100,000 Guatemalans live in the US, and 200,000 in Mexico.

IN the last decade those who control Guatemala have begun to make grudging concessions in response to the democracy and peaceful reconciliation sweeping Latin America. Free and fair elections were held in 1985, and the winner served out his term.

Serrano took the same route to office in 1991. The Central American peace accords provided a framework, as well as external pressure, for the government and the guerrillas to enter into negotiations to end armed confrontation. Through an arrangement brokered by the United Nations, refugees recently began to return home.

Serrano's "self coup" has thrown all of this and more into doubt. Taking a page from Peruvian Alberto Fujimori's manual, Serrano justified his actions in terms of saving the nation from self-destruction and promised to return Guatemala to constitutional rule in 60 days. But Guatemalans and outside observers were justifiably skeptical. The Peruvians are still waiting, more than a year after Fujimori declared himself dictator and made the same promises.

Given the military's history of intervention in politics, the inter-American community would be well-advised to keep the pressure up until power is fully in civilian hands. It must also help strengthen democratic institutions in Guatemala. There is no question that decisive action by Washington and its allies in the hemisphere was instrumental in reversing the threat to democracy in Guatemala. Serrano gave Mr. Clinton a foreign policy victory that extends beyond Guatemala to the rest of the hemisphere and to Europe, where collective action is desperately needed.

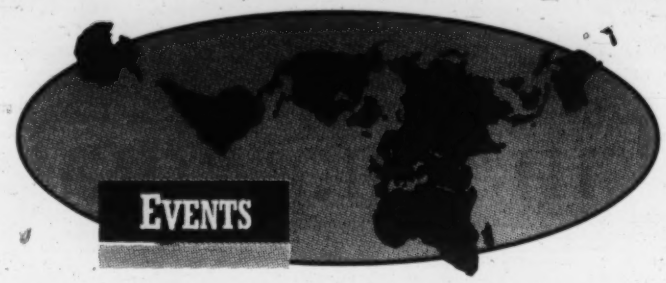
■ *Terry L. McCoy is director of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida in Gainesville.*

CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

NARANJO, EL UNIVERSAL, MEXICO CITY, MEXICO, C&WS

PAVANELLI, FOLHA DE SAO PAULO, SAO PAULO, BRAZIL, C&WS

ZE'EV HA'ARETZ, TEL AVIV, ISRAEL, C&WS



GERMAN ECONOMY IN STEEP DECLINE

German production and export income dropped steeply in the first quarter of the year, pushing Europe's largest economy deeper into recession. The gross domestic product shrank 3.2 percent compared with the level a year ago, the largest drop since the first quarter of 1975, when the GDP (a measure of the total value of goods and services, excluding income earned abroad) dropped 3.5 percent, the Federal Statistics office said yesterday. Every component of the economy in western Germany declined in the first quarter. It is the worst German economic crisis since World War II and the government last week announced plans to slash spending. The persistent recession is threatening the recovery in eastern Germany, which costs the government $90 billion annually.

Bentsen hits Japan surplus

The US criticized Japan yesterday for willful failure to rein in its soaring trade surplus and open its markets to more foreign goods. It was the second such warning in two days. US Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen demanded in a speech to the Anglo-American Press Club in Paris that Japan make a "fundamental change" in the way it deals with trading partners. Mr. Bentsen said Japan's trade surpluses hurt world growth. He also said the days of tolerating efforts by other nations to protect their markets as "the price of stability and winning the cold war ... is over."

Germans, Turks mourn

Germans and Turks mourned together in Cologne yesterday for the five Turks killed by a firebomb in the German town of Solingen May 29, the Monitor's Francine Kiefer reported. At an emotional memorial service attended by high ranking politicians of both countries, German President Richard von Weizsäcker blamed German society as a whole for the deaths. "If youths turn into arsonists and murderers, it's not their fault alone but the fault of all those who have an influence on their upbringing," he said. The chief suspect of the firebombing, already in custody, is reportedly 16-year-old Christian Riha, who lives across the street from the Turkish victims and known by the local police for hatred of foreigners and for repeated involvement in assaults, arson, and break-ins.

Food to Sarajevo blocked

United Natons aid officials yesterday worried about how to feed Sarajevo's 300,000 residents after the suspension of the airlift to the besieged city. The UN halted relief flights Wednesday after snipers wounded four French soldiers and an American relief plane was hit by a machine-gun bullet. The airport was unlikely to be reopened before the weekend. Overland shipments have been blocked by fighting in most of Bosnia. Mortar rounds that killed 15 people Tuesday at a soccer game in a Sarajevo suburb came from Serb positions, the UN said.

Masson wins case

Jurors in the $7.5 million libel trial against journalist Janet Malcolm and The New Yorker magazine decided Wednesday in favor of plaintiff Jeffrey M. Masson, but they were deadlocked on what the damages should be. This initial decision must be followed by agreement on damages to complete the decision, according to the judge's instructions.

Sihanouk rules again

National reconciliation leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk formed a new interim government in Cambodia yesterday evening, joining the Vietnamese-installed administration and the main opposition party. He will be premier and supreme military commander. The announcement eased worries of conflict between the ruling Cambodian People's Party and the Sihanouk's opposition party after his party took a virtually unbeatable lead in last week's general election.

Ndadaye wins in Burundi

Opposition candidate Melchior Ndadaye has been declared the winner in Burundi's first multiparty presidential election since independence in 1962. With 70 percent of the vote counted, Ndadaye won 60 percent compared to 39 percent for Pierre Buyoya, the military leader who came to power in a 1987 coup, the Ministry of Interior declared Wednesday night.

– Compiled by David Mutch

DAN, I CAN'T TELL YOU HOW WONDERFUL IT'S GOING TO BE, SHARING THE PROGRAM WITH YOU...
RIGHT, CONNIE, NOW FOR THE IMPORTANT NEWS...
... I STILL MAKE MORE MONEY.
SMILE
CBS EVENING NEWS
DANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

Can We Blame METCO for Boston's Schools?

Thank you for the thoughtful article "Black Parents Resist Calls to End Voluntary Busing," May 27, on the current publicity surrounding the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO) program in Massachusetts. As METCO parents of two sons, we are concerned about Boston mayoral aide Ted Landsmark's attack on this program.

METCO is not solely a Boston school program. Its dual mission is to benefit both urban minority students and suburban students who have chosen to take part in the program. If suburban residents felt there were nothing to be gained from the program, they would not participate. METCO could not exist year after year without their support.

Why are METCO students and their families being used as scapegoats to explain away the continued failure of Boston's public schools? Are Mr. Landsmark's remarks a trial balloon being floated by someone more powerful to gauge public support for METCO?

If METCO is phased out, which according to law cannot be done until the last child who enters graduates, many parents will either enroll their children in private or parochial schools. Many will leave the city. We will do whatever we can to guarantee that our children receive the best education they can because it is the key to their future. We will fight to keep METCO alive.

Larry Green ***Dorchester, Mass.***
Barbara Green

Issues behind grade inflation

As students completing our first year at Oberlin College, we disapprove of the accusatory tone directed toward American students in the editorial "Tarnishing the Honor Roll," May 10. The fact that an A-plus is not worth what it was 50 years ago is not the fault of students today; grade inflation has been caused by complicated social and political circumstances, not by an inherent lack of drive in students. Motivated students would work harder if teachers demanded more.

Obviously our school system needs improvement. Most students are not taught the importance of education by their families. The government also is responsible, as it tends to stress defense over education.

The country must dedicate itself to improving its schools and controlling grade inflation. The task of improving the system does not fall exclusively on the shoulders of any sector of society, and the public should be weary of adopting a "kids these days" attitude. This interpretation of the educational crisis will only breed inaction.

Katherine S. McCall ***Oberlin, Ohio***
Rebecca A. Gopoian

Your May 10 editorial misses a salient point: Colleges are attracting only the committed student. Aware of the obligations of their education, students now make the extra effort to produce or drop out altogether, when they must pay $25,000 per year.

Claire Hess ***Raleigh, N.C.***

No study for its own sake

Regarding the article "Deming: We've Been Sold Down the River on Competition," May 3: As a junior in high school, I feel it would be disastrous to remove our objective method of rating performances. If anything, we need a more uniform technique of evaluating students' progress. As in government and business, education must be able to analyze itself through objective means.

Grades allow students to set their sights on a target. It is unrealistic to expect students to set goals for themselves simply for the sake of knowledge. After responding to good grades, they will realize the benefit of knowledge as a tool for survival and success.

Will Woodward ***Seattle, Wash.***

Due to an editing mistake, the May 4 letter to the editor by Humphrey Tonkin, president of the University of Hartford in Connecticut, contained an inaccuracy. The letter should have read: "As a primarily undergraduate institution, we do not make much use of graduate students as teachers...."

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.